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OF

PETER MUNDY.

VOL. III.

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SECOND SERIES.

No. XLV.

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THE TRAVELS
OF
PETER MUNDY,
IN EUROPE AND ASIA,
1608–1667.

EDITED BY
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ROUND THE BAY OF BENGAL."

VOL. III.

TRAVELS IN ENGLAND, INDIA, CHINA, ETC.
1634–1638.

PART I.

TRAVELS IN ENGLAND, WESTERN INDIA, ACHIN,
MACAO, AND THE CANTON RIVER,
1634–1637.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.
MCMXIX

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PREFACE.

THE third section of Peter Mundy's manuscript takes the reader half-way round the world and provides unique and interesting information, especially as regards China and Madagascar.

The transcript, as before, is taken from *MS. Rawl. A.* 315, at the Bodleian Library. The only other copies of this portion of the work that are known to exist are those at the British Museum and the India Office, both of which were made in the nineteenth century. The former of these, *Add. MSS.* 19281, fol. 1—213, contains only *Relations* XXI—XXVI and has no illustrations. The latter, presented to the India Office in 1814, was made from the Bodleian MS. and contains careful tracings of all the illustrations.

No change has been made in this volume in the system of spelling and punctuation adopted in its predecessors. Marginal notes, when not repeated in the text, have been used, as in Vol. II, for paragraph headings.

So far as I am aware, beyond the references in Mr Foster's *English Factories*, Mundy's narrative of his China voyage as a factor in Weddell's ill-fated expedition financed by Sir William Courteen, has received no serious attention from any author except Mr James Bromley Eames (*The English in China*) who, however, does not seem to have consulted the original MS. or was dependent on an inaccurate copyist for his extracts.

The portion of the manuscript now printed contains brief Chinese and Malagasy vocabularies and a short list of Japanese numerals and phrases. Professor H. A. Giles finds the Chinese characters "curious, chiefly because they are identifiable as actual and not bogus words, taken down on the spot by a *bona-fide* traveller." They have not, however, been reproduced because the volume has already swelled to much greater proportions than was anticipated, and also because "there is nothing to be learnt from them as regards development of script." The Malagasy vocabulary has been printed as it stands, with Archdeacon Cory's elucidation in many cases. Mundy's rendering of the Japanese numerals, etc., for which he gives no characters, has also been reproduced, with Sir Ernest Satow's observations.

A word or two is necessary with regard to the extraneous matter introduced into the text and used in the Appendices. This is drawn from six sources.

1. Public Record Office MSS. (*a*) The official account of the voyage of Weddell's fleet from 14th April 1636 to 6th April 1637 (*State Papers, Dom. Chas. I.* CCCLI, No. 30), probably the work of the two Mountneys and Thomas Robinson. It has been used to supply gaps in Mundy's narrative or to elucidate his remarks. There is a duplicate copy at the Bodleian Library among the papers comprised in *MS. Rawl. A.* 399. (*b*) The official papers of appointment issued to the leaders of Courteen's venture (C.O. 77/6). The most important of these have been printed in Appendix A.

2. The continuation of the voyage of Weddell's fleet, from 6th April 1637 to 4th February 1638 (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII), preserved at the India Office. This MS. has been used by Staunton, Bruce, Eames and other writers who have dealt with Weddell's expedition, and

in the present volume has been employed for the purposes above stated.

3. Captain John Weddell's own account of the expedition (*O.C.* 1662, also preserved at the India Office), which supplies details not given in the other accounts. This and the two official narratives have been calendared (see *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* and *English Factories*), but have nowhere been printed *in extenso*.

4. The series which I have called Courteen Papers, a set of documents preserved at the Bodleian Library (*MS. Rawl. A.* 399), containing an incomplete record of the transactions of Courteen's merchants during the China voyage. The most important among them is the letter summarising the result of the expedition up to the time when the fleet sailed from Macao. It is printed in full in Appendix D.

5. Hague Transcripts. These have been employed for additional accounts of the naval skirmish off Goa in January 1637 and for the altercation that occurred off Malacca in January 1638. The translations at the India Office have been used for the purpose.

6. Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons, being copies from the Lisbon Archives, made for the India Office. This series has been drawn upon to a great extent, for it helps to illustrate and explain the Portuguese attitude towards the English at Macao and supplies reasons for the treatment experienced by Courteen's merchants while in China. The translations of all documents given in full have been made by Miss Leonora de Alberti, since the existing translations were found inadequate for the purpose. The style is verbose and often confused, and the want of punctuation and the impossibility of referring to the originals made the decipherment of some of the more obscure passages

extremely difficult. The translator has, however, given a readable rendering in almost every instance.

My personal knowledge of many of the places visited by the author has lightened the task of editing, but the wide scope of the present volume and the varied subjects touched on by Mundy have necessitated reference to a large number of authorities for help in the solution of conundrums. In every case the assistance of scholars and specialists has been most generously given and I have endeavoured to acknowledge my indebtedness in each instance in the notes to the text. I desire, however, to offer my special thanks to the following. To Mr William Foster, who, as ever, willingly placed at my disposal his own notes collected during his exhaustive researches among the East India Company's Records and has spared no pains in pointing out fresh sources of information; to Lt-Colonel Sir David Prain and his staff at Kew for the identification of the numerous trees and plants appearing under many strange names and descriptions; to Mr W. L. Sclater for similar invaluable help with the birds of the various countries visited; and to Lieut.-Com. G. T. Temple, R.N., for assistance with nautical terms throughout the volume. Further, I desire to express my gratitude to Mr C. Otto Blagden, Sir Ernest Satow, Professor H. A. Giles, Mr Lionel C. Hopkins and Mr M. C. Jame for special help with Malay subjects, Japanese and Chinese puzzles. Mr Jame was so kind as to personally inspect Mundy's drawings and give me the Cantonese equivalents of his descriptions. For Madagascar I had the advantage of the assistance of Archdeacon Cory, to whose knowledge of the language and the country the notes in *Relation* XXIX owe their value. To this section also Dr Boulenger and his colleagues at the British Museum (Natural History)

contributed by identifying Mundy's illustrations of the fishes he saw while in Madagascar.

The transcript of the MS. is the work of Miss E. G Parker, whose care and accuracy leave nothing to be desired. The copies of documents at the Public Record Office and the research there and at the British Museum were undertaken by Miss A. J. Mayes, and the genealogical inquiries at Somerset House by her sister Miss W. M. Mayes, to both of whom I am indebted for their unfailing interest and conscientious work.

Once again my acknowledgments are due to the officials at the India Office, who have, as before, granted me every facility for research. I also desire to thank Messrs Harrison and Sons for care in printing.

I cannot close this Preface without once again expressing my gratitude to Miss L. M. Anstey, who has now been working with me for twenty years, and to whose ever increasing knowledge of the MSS. available in England for Oriental research, what value this volume may prove to have for the student of early English travels is largely due.

R. C. TEMPLE

The Nash,
Worcester.
May 1919.

CORRECTIONS OF ERRORS IN VOL. II.

Glasney College.

p. lxxiv. Mr. Percy Dryden Mundy informs me that "Glaseney' College, of which Mundy's grandfather was a precentor, was not a monastery but a college composed of secular canons. See Thurston C. Peter, *History of Glasney Collegiate Church.*

Onilâhy River.

p. 12, n. 7. Onitahy river, Madagascar, should be Onilâhy river.

"Setebundra Messer."

p. 115, n. 3. For the note as printed, substitute—Mundy meant by this expression Setebund Ramesser, *i.e.*, Sītāband Rāmeshwar, the well-known pilgrimage temple on Adam's Bridge between India and Ceylon.

Musk catts: Paratt with a horne.

p. 307. Mr. A. R. Bonus points out that I have wrongly identified both the above. Mundy's "Musk catts" were civet-cats (see vol. III. p. 99) and his "Paratt with a horne on his head" was a species of hornbill.

Gunnees.

p. 310. This word was incorrectly transcribed and should be "Sunnee," usually explained as a gold *mohar* and derived from *sonā*, gold. But if the old writers meant *sunī*, they would have written "soonee" or something similar, and if "sunnee" was a common term for the gold *mohar* 300 years ago, it is odd that no form like *sonī, sohanī, sunī, sunnī,* is to be found now. The more reasonable explanation seems to be that *sanī, sanhī, saniyā, sanhiyā,* were vernacular forms meaning a dated *mohar* (from *san, sanh,* a year), one which deteriorated in value as the date became old, as in the case of *sanat* or dated (sonaut) rupees. Hence the importance of rapid sale as is shown by the following quotations:—

6 *Feb.* 1628. "'Sunneas' are not worth above Rs. 13 each" (*English Factories*, 1624—1629, p. 235).

16 *March* 1628. "Cannot get rid of the 'sunneas' sent up, except at a loss" (*Ibid.*, p. 270).

4 *July* 1636. "Have sent . . . 30 'sunnees' for trial" (*Ibid.*, 1634—1636, p. 272).

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INTRODUCTION.

AN overland journey from Constantinople to London in 1620, the conduct of a caravan from Agra to Patna in 1632, not to speak of the voyages connected with such expeditions, would have afforded sufficient excitement for a lifetime to the ordinary individual. Not so with our author. The more he travelled the keener became his thirst for knowledge and his desire to extend it. He had, of necessity, to make a living, but the thought of gain was subsidiary to his ruling passion, which by this time had, as he says, become "somewhatt Naturall unto mee." Hence, in this volume we find him seeking fresh fields for his energies, and braving perils by land and sea in pursuit of his aim.

At the close of vol. II. we left Mundy in London, in November 1634, preparing to rejoin his relatives after an absence of seven years. While closing his accounts with the East India Company, he took the opportunity of visiting Tradescant's "Ark," Sir Henry Moody's Camera Obscura and the museum at the Tower of London, all of which, and especially the "rarities" collected by the Tradescants, excited his admiration.

After a few days with his friends in Cornwall, Mundy returned to London to supervise the sale of some of his Indian goods. He travelled in a lobster-boat which put into Torbay and Weymouth. From the latter place

he went to Portland, of which he has a minute description, including an allusion to an unsuccessful attempt to drain the Fleet. At the same time he paid a visit to Maiden Castle and inspected Maumbury Ring at Dorchester.

Having finished his business in London, Mundy returned to Penryn by road, stopping to examine the "New House" at Basing and King Arthur's Table at Winchester Castle, together with the "Cathedrall Church" in that "auntient Cittie." The quietude of the little town of Penryn soon palled upon him, and led him to seek some fresh "voyage or course to passe away tyme" as well as to "provide somewhat for the future." Accordingly, in November 1635, we find him again in London where "two good businesses" were "on foote." He had the chance of re-employment as factor in the East India Company's service, or of a similar post in an expedition undertaken by Sir William Courteen on an "unknowne designe." Naturally Mundy chose the latter.

The inception and history of Courteen's Association, a rich and influential body of interlopers countenanced and encouraged by Charles I., has been ably set forth by Mr William Foster in his Introduction to *Court Minutes*, ed. Sainsbury, 1635—1639, and in his *English Factories*, 1634—1641. The present remarks are therefore confined to the particular venture in which Mundy had a direct concern. The "unknowne designe," generally called Weddell's Expedition, was an ambitious scheme to settle centres of trade, in rivalry of the East India Company, on the West Coast of India, in China and Japan, or any other suitable spot, and for this purpose a Royal Commission was granted to Captain John Weddell and Nathaniel Mountney, the commander and chief merchant.

While in London, waiting for his sailing orders, Mundy

went down to Woolwich in Sir William Courteen's advice boat, and there he saw on the stocks the *Sovereign of the Seas*, as well as the "Moddell or Molde of the said shipp." He compared her "prodigious length and breadth" with "St Paules great Church," two "wonderfull Structures," in his opinion, "not to bee paralelled in the whole world." In this "interim" there occurred the accident to the *Ann Royal* at Tilbury, by which many lives were lost.

The fleet commanded by Captain John Weddell, in which Mundy was to sail, consisted of four large ships, the *Dragon*, *Sun*, *Catherine* and *Planter*, and two pinnaces, the *Anne* and the *Discovery*. Mundy was allotted to the *Planter*, his sailing companion, also a factor, being John Fortune.

On the 14th April 1636 the ships left the Downs, and on Easter Day (the 17th) were off Start Point where they made a brave show, flying the King's "Coullours" and marking the occasion by "the report of Ordnance."

The voyage was uneventful until the 30th April when the *Catherine* and *Planter* got out of their course and lost the rest of the fleet. A week later the *Catherine* deserted the *Planter*, and it was not until the 23rd May that "we accidentally and happily Mett with our Fleete againe." The *Catherine*, however, did not rejoin her consorts until after their arrival at Goa.

On the 4th June it was decided to send the *Discovery* back to England since she proved a slow sailer and "could not hold way with us." The *Anne*, too, proved a hindrance, and was victualled and left to make her way to India at her own pace.

The *Dragon*, *Sun* and *Planter*, being freed from encumbrances, steered for the Cape, which was sighted on the 26th July, and on the 19th August, after experiencing "much Winde and Foule weather," they spoke with a "Carrick" containing the Archbishop

designate of Goa. Civilities were exchanged through the medium of Thomas Robinson, the linguist of the party, after which the Portuguese vessel made straight for Goa and Weddell directed his course for the Comoros " to reffresh our men."

On the 27th August the fleet anchored at Johanna, an island hitherto unvisited by Mundy who made full use of the week spent there. He has remarks on its physical features, buildings, inhabitants, trade, productions, as well as "A Cataracke of water and other Curiosities of Nature." He would fain have visited the "strange pond" or lake in the mountains, about which marvellous stories were told him, but though he "assaid to obtaine leave to goe uppe with a guide," he could not " procure it For love nor money."

At Johanna the fleet found the East India Company's ship *Mary*, which had " wayed " from England " some 4 howres before us." Her commander, Captain James Slade, an old acquaintance of Mundy's, had died at sea, and she had lost her chief merchant and several of the crew by an accident to the ship's boat off Dassen Island.

For five days after leaving Johanna the ships had " brave sailing," and on arrival at Goa " the wellcome salutation passed Freely on both sides by report of the Ordnance."

At Goa, however, a disappointment awaited the emissaries of Courteen's Association. Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, the Viceroy personally known to Weddell and Nathaniel Mountney, had returned to Portugal. His successor, who disapproved of the Convention signed by his predecessor with President William Methwold in January 1635, looked on the newcomers with suspicion. The voyage of the East India Company's ship *London* to Macao, the immediate outcome of the truce between the English and Portuguese in India, had resulted in filling the

minds of the Portuguese authorities with misgivings lest the English should oust them from their already precarious position among the Chinese. Therefore Pedro da Silva, the new Viceroy, while accepting a letter and gift from Charles I. and acknowledging them with due courtesy, confined himself to vague promises, his chief object being to do as little as possible for Courteen's merchants, short of throwing them into the arms of the Dutch who were threatening to blockade Goa.

Meanwhile the *Catherine* and *Anne* arrived on the scene, and Weddell, who was losing many of his men by sickness and desertion, urged the Portuguese to fulfil their promise of providing him with a cargo. But "finding Nothing butt Delaies, faire Wordes and breach of promises," "leave to Depart" was "demaunded" and granted after a stay of three months and nine days.

During this time Mundy had ample opportunity to explore the city of Goa with its "faire streets" and "goodly churches," its "Many Castles and Fortes," and especially the tomb of St Francis Xavier. He was struck by the abundant supply of water, natural and artificial, and the consequent fruitfulness of the gardens. Here he first saw a pepper vine and tasted and described fruits hitherto unknown to him. To the money and weights of Goa he paid special attention, and he furnishes a useful list of contemporary names and values.

Six days before Weddell sailed, a naval action took place between the Portuguese and the Dutch in which the latter had the advantage. Mundy's account of the fight is very brief, since it was only from hearsay, "my selff not present, beeing in the Citty at that time."

On the 17th January 1637, Weddell, with the five ships under his command, left Goa for Bhatkal, where he had reason to hope for better success as regarded trade. He was followed by the Dutch fleet and at night they

" anchored all together." The next day Weddell handed the letter of Charles I., countenancing the expedition, to the Dutch commander and obtained details of the recent fight with the Portuguese, after which the two fleets separated, the Dutch to resume the blockade of Goa and the English to sail to the southward.

Off Kārwār and its " faire large bay " Weddell anchored while Mundy and others explored an island at its entrance, but they failed to get information, as their interpreters " could not be understood by the Country people." On the 23rd January the fleet passed Onore (Honāvar) and anchored at the north of Bhatkal. This place was selected as a likely centre of trade on the recommendation of Bābā Rāwat, the " Babaraut, an arche pyratt," who had come aboard the *Mary* on Mundy's homeward voyage in February 1634, and had then invited the English " to lade Pepper " there.

Bābā Rāwat appears to have had influence with the Nāyak of Ikkeri (Vīra Bhadra), on whom Bhatkal depended, and he had ensured a favourable reception for Weddell and his companions. On their arrival, a message was sent from Ikkeri acceding to their request for a " shippes lading of pepper," but difficulties soon arose with the local officials and it was judged expedient to treat directly with the Nāyak. Accordingly, Thomas Robinson and Mundy were selected to go to " the Court " and obtain a written agreement granting facilities of trade.

With " other 2 English " they " sett forward " on the 21st February and took four days to cover the 37 miles to Ikkeri. Vīra Bhadra Nāyak received them graciously and entertained them at a banquet where Mundy found the " accommodation " strange, since the guests sat on the ground and had " Neither table Nor stooles, trencher nor Napkin, knives nor spoones." The English were also present at a religious festival

which Mundy describes in detail. He was specially interested in the "Mistmaker" or bheesty, by whose means "his Majesty May call for raine and have it a his pleasure."

The object of the interview having been obtained—namely, permission to trade on specified terms and the grant of a piece of land on which to establish a factory—Robinson and Mundy left Ikkeri on the 28th February and returned to Bhatkal. Here they found that malaria had carried off many of the fleet, the *Planter* suffering especially, losing, among others, her master, surgeon and boatswain. The deaths altogether were "Near uppon Fourscore."

Under these circumstances it is surprising that Weddell had no difficulty in finding volunteers to remain at Bhatkal and undertake the management of a factory which was ill-omened from the first. Anthony Vernworthy, the first Chief, died within a month; his successor, John Fortune, Mundy's companion on the *Planter*, was murdered, and two years later Weddell found the settlement in such a decaying condition as to need reconstituting.

In spite of his short stay at Bhatkal, Mundy missed nothing of consequence. He noted the ruins consequent on internal dissension, the "Forsaken and neglected" temples, and an especially ornate pillar or *stambha* outside one of them. He has remarks on the houses plastered with cowdung (*gobar*), the palm-leaf MSS. tied in bundles, "Swinging Cottes," civet, the Soap-nut which will "scour and laver like sope," and various strange birds that attracted his notice. The coins and weights also received his attention, but as he "overslipped" some of them, the list is not so detailed as that for Goa.

Having obtained a lading of pepper for the *Planter* and leaving the infant factory at Bhatkal apparently firmly established, the fleet again set sail on the 19th

March 1637, and after anchoring for a short time off Mangalore, Mount Delly and Cannanore, steered for Cochin, where Thomas Robinson was sent ashore and obtained permission from the Governor of the town to purchase "reffreshing" as well as goods to complete the *Planter's* cargo. The uniformity of the buildings at Cochin was "much commended" by Mundy, but he did not find them "soe faire" as those at Goa. The cabinet work for which Cochin was noted, as well as the dug-outs of "one entire peece" of wood, however, excited his interest and admiration.

Three days after leaving Cochin, on the 6th April 1637, the *Planter*, now fully laden for England, took her leave of the fleet and sailed homeward, while Weddell with the remaining three ships and the pinnace *Anne* made his way to Sumatra, passing "faire by" Ceylon where Mundy saw Adam's Peak, "resembling somwhatt the Crowne of our now new fashion hatts."

Sumatra was not named in the Royal Commission among the places where it was desirable to establish centres of trade, but the news of a change in the government at Achin had reached the fleet at Cochin, and it was thought a propitious moment to forward Courteen's interests there. Moreover, since "Acheen was held to bee a verie Convenient place as well for Correspondence with China as India," it might be possible to gain a footing there and leave factors to collect a supply of pepper and other goods in readiness "against our returne" from China. In addition to these reasons, Weddell and his associates were ready to grasp any opportunity of compensating themselves for their disappointment at Goa.

Accordingly, on the 22nd April the fleet anchored off Achin, where the "Commaunders" were "lovingly receaved" by the new monarch, Iskandar Thāni, who remitted the heavy customs duties imposed by his

predecessor, Iskandar Mūda, and promised every facility for trade, being " much affected " towards the English. Within a week a factory was established under the management of Edward Knipe and two assistants. The merchants were temporarily lodged in a house formerly occupied by the Danes until they could erect their own premises on a plot of land granted them by the King.

During his short stay at Achin, much occurred to interest our author. He witnessed for the second time a procession to celebrate 'Idu'l-Azhā, feast of sacrifices (Bakar'īd) ; he was present at a combat of elephants and has a lettered illustration of " the Manner off their Fighting." He excuses the length of space allotted to this subject " because it is a beast to be noted as the biggest, strongest, most capable " and " Most Dissenting in forme and use of parts From others of any that is."

Among objects at Achin which attracted Mundy's notice were the King's female guard, his " Gallies and Frigatts," his " smalle vessells," and especially the Oriental outrigged canoe. The houses " builtt on posts " were a new feature to him, and here he made acquaintance with the durian, a fruit " Delicious in tast, though of a very ranck smelle." Mundy also remarked on the dress of the inhabitants, both rich and poor, and he was shocked at the " Cruell Justice " with which malefactors were punished. The " Coines, Waightts and Measures " did not escape him, and again he provides a useful contemporary table.

On the 2nd May 1637 the four ships bent their course for Malacca, where they arrived three weeks later, having temporarily " new named " the island of Pulo Berhala on their way. Here they stayed two days and were graciously received by the young Portuguese Governor, but they failed to obtain the " experienct Pilott " of whom they were in need, and had to put up with an inefficient Portuguese half-caste.

At Malacca they found an English gunner married to a Portuguese "Mestiza" and also an Englishwoman married to a "Mestizo." This was Judith, serving maid of the Frobishers, who with her mistress was wrecked off China, and has thus the distinction of being one of the first Englishwomen known to have landed at Macao. Mundy's account of Malacca includes its fortifications, the dearness of provisions there, the palm-leaf hats worn by "the vulgar sort of Weomen," the language of the Malay Peninsula and a short list of coins and weights.

Six days after leaving Malacca, the "old straightt" of "Sincapura" was safely navigated, though the ships were once in great danger of running aground through the negligence of their "slender" pilot. The passage was found to be both "securious and Commodious," and was named, for the time being, "Weddells straights" in honour of the Commander.

From Singapore to Macao the voyage was uneventful. At Pulo Tioman wood and water were taken on board and Mundy found specimens of "Monstrous scallope shells" (*Tridacna gigas*) and here also for the first time he saw a macaque monkey. After sailing across the Gulf of Siam, making Pulo Condore and passing Cape Varella, the island of San Shan or St John, the burial place of St Francis Xavier, was sighted on the 25th June. Two days later the ships "came to anchor 3 leagues shortt of Macao."

Here the real troubles of the commanders and merchants began, and for the next six months it needed all their ingenuity to combat the intrigues of the Portuguese and the suspicions of the Chinese. Being warned not to approach the harbour, John Mountney, Robinson and Mundy were sent ashore with letters to the Captain General of Macao. The Jesuits, who were indebted to Weddell for bringing several of their number from Malacca,

welcomed the Englishmen at their College and entertained them to a "Banquet off sweet Meats, Fruit, etts.," among which was a "Leicheea," which Mundy found "the prettiest and pleasauntest Fruitt that ever I saw or tasted." The architecture of the Church of St Paul, with its carved roof and "New Faire Frontispice," also excited his admiration.

Domingos da Camara, Captain General of Macao, viewed the arrival of the English with much disquiet. In face of the recently concluded Convention of Goa he could not flout them openly, but he was filled with misgivings lest they should ingratiate themselves with the Chinese and deprive the Portuguese settlers of the restricted trade allowed them. Moreover, Macao was in a parlous condition, and on the success of the yearly investment for Japan much depended. Therefore, as long as the six vessels bound for Deshima were still unladen, Da Camara temporised with the English. Politely vague replies were returned to the letters sent ashore, and the Procurador of the city was sent to the fleet to give a lamentable account of the low condition of trade owing to suspicions aroused in the Chinese, suspicions which, so he said, would be accentuated by the arrival of large ships.

In order to hinder the newcomers from verifying the truth of these statements, "Watche boats" were stationed "to forbidd all others coming near us." Weddell therefore determined to get into the harbour unpiloted, and managed to reach Taipa Anchorage, all the ships happily escaping a sunken rock, on which they would have "spoyled themselves."

On the 1st July, in spite of the guard boats, a Chinese official with his attendants came on board "to know our intentts." Mundy was struck by his "strange attire" as well as by the "broad board" carried before him. Nothing came of this visit and Weddell made

use of his enforced inactivity to have all his ships "carreened." A rumour that after the departure of the Portuguese fleet for Japan facilities for trade would be granted induced him to wait with patience. However, in order to be prepared for any event, he sent the pinnace *Anne* to survey the Canton River and "seeke For speech and trade with the Chineses." Captain Carter of the *Catherine* took command of this perilous adventure, and with him were Thomas Robinson, John Mountney, and a "selected Crew." The *Anne* started on the 12th July and was absent for ten days.

Meanwhile, another Chinese official, this time from Canton, paid a visit to the fleet "to be satisfied of the truth of whatt the others write," but again nothing was effected by the interview. On the day of the *Anne's* return a rumour was spread that the pinnace had been "surprized," that her crew were "in Irons," and the vessel "haled on shoare." The Captain General sent to condole with Weddell on the disaster, but "all prooved falce, For thatt evening she retourned, finding, so they said, good encouragementt of trade from the Chineses."

The *Anne* had made her way up the river as far as the First Bar by means of a fisherman who was bribed to act as pilot. Her arrival caused consternation at Canton, and Chinese officials were hurriedly dispatched to promise all sorts of concessions if she would but return to Macao, "The Which they, haveinge satisfied themselves with this discovery . . . readily performed."

The day following the return of the *Anne*, the Portuguese fleet set sail for Japan, "And now expected wee open admittance of trade." But the merchants were still put off with excuses, such as want of direct orders from the King of Spain or Viceroy of Goa and the known hatred of the Chinese to strangers. In order still further to discourage the English from any attempt

to trade, the Procurador warned them that a design was on foot to set fire to their ships.

At the end of another week Weddell's patience was exhausted. Realising that there was no hope of coming to an agreement with the Portuguese, he determined to make use of the information obtained by the *Anne* and to attempt to open trade directly with the Chinese. In pursuance of this design, the four ships left their anchorage on the 29th July 1637 and sailed up the estuary to a point off the Nine Islands, followed by a fleet of junks anxiously watching their movements. One of these sent a Chinese official with an interpreter to the *Dragon*, desiring the commander to anchor "there aboutts" until orders should be received from Canton. Weddell, however, took no notice of this message, but sailed up to Chuen-pi Point. Thence he proceeded slowly "by reason of straunge currantts and little wyndes." On the 4th August he encountered a fleet of about 40 sail of "the kings Men of Warre," and received another message to "turne aside" to Wantong Forts. This also he disregarded and made his way to Anung-hoi Point on which was a fort, and there the Chinese prepared to oppose his passage. Immediately out went the "bloody ensignes" and the "Kings coullours on our Mayne toppes," which so impressed the Chinese that they hurriedly sent to beg the English to have patience "For 6 Daies more," when there would be time to hear from Canton.

In the interval Mundy went ashore with "a white Flagge" to buy provisions, and saw in the market an edible snake, "his Mouth sowed uppe For biting." He also visited a Chinese Pagoda and drank his first cup of "Chaa" or tea. The "white Flagge" was of "little purpose," our "white silver being all in all," and even that failed to secure food on the following day, for the Mandarin of Wantong Forts had "sent order

all aboutt thatt Nothing should bee sould us." Mundy and the foraging party with their interpreters, who were runaways from the Portuguese, were returning empty-handed when they fell in with two Chinese using divining sticks in a "poore Pagode" built of oyster shells. After witnessing the ceremony, they were invited to share the repast of the worshippers, but they "knew not how to use" the chopsticks provided them, "soe imployed our Fingers."

The reply from Canton was due on the 15th August, but the persistency of the Chinese in refusing supplies and the way in which they were collecting ammunition at Anung-hoi Fort excited Weddell's suspicion and kept him on the alert. On the 12th the *Dragon's* barge was fired on and a general skirmish ensued. The Chinese were quickly routed and the fort abandoned. This was Mundy's first experience of war, and "beecause it was soe orderly Don and the First skirmish thatt I yett ever saw my selfe in by land or Sea," he describes it "somwhat largely."

The following day two junks were seized, and the crew of one of them was sent to Canton in their own ship's boat with a letter to the officials of the city giving the reasons that had led to the attack on Anung-hoi Fort. Meanwhile Thomas Robinson went ashore to "procure what he might," and had another skirmish with "about 350 Chinesses" before he could bring away the provisions he had purchased.

At this juncture Pablo Noretti comes on the scene. This man was a Chinese who had learnt Portuguese and had served as interpreter at Macao, becoming a Christian and being baptised and given a Portuguese name. In the previous year, however, he had renounced his new religion and had betaken himself to Canton, declaring that the Portuguese had defrauded him. They, on the other hand, maintained that Noretti had cheated

them of a large sum of money at the annual Canton Fair, the only time they were permitted to trade in that city and obtain cargoes for their fleet for Japan.

In entrusting their interests to such a man, the failure of the attempt of the English to open trade with Canton was a foregone conclusion. Noretti arrived on the 15th August in the guise of a " petty Mandareene " with a flag of truce, offering to obtain all the desired concessions. In return, Weddell agreed to give compensation for any damages inflicted in the late skirmishes. On the faith of Noretti's promises, John Mountney and Thomas Robinson went with him to Canton, where they presented a petition to the Governor of the city drawn up by the interpreter and containing bitter accusations against his late masters.

The merchants returned to the fleet favourably impressed by their reception, and three days later Noretti arrived, bringing a reply which he interpreted to the great satisfaction of Weddell and his associates, who now believed that their venture would be crowned with success. Noretti assured them that the document he brought granted every facility of trade and a " Choice of 3 severall places" for their " shippes to Ride in." The interpretation, however, was " Most Falce (as afterward appeared)," but it was some time before the English realised the depth of Noretti's treachery. Buoyed up with hopes of a profitable investment, three of the leading spirits of the expedition, Nathaniel Mountney, " Cape Merchant," his brother John, the accountant, and Thomas Robinson, a man of wide experience of trade in the East, willingly agreed to go to Canton to inspect samples and arrange for the shipment of goods. While they were collecting a boatload of saleable articles to take with them, Mundy and an interpreter sailed down the river in the pinnace *Anne*, commanded by Thomas Woollman, master of the *Sun*,

to inspect the places said to be "appointed for our shipping." Only one of these was found suitable for an anchorage, and that by no means an ideal spot. Still, it was "held the best For presentt."

On his return to the fleet, Mundy "and one More" were sent to the Chinese commander of certain junks to beg permission for the ships to go further up the river for their "More security." This official, however, asserted that he had no power to grant the request. "Notwithstanding such answear," the "exceeding Fowle weather" experienced on the 29th August induced Weddell to disregard all prohibitions and to berth his ships in "a very commodious harbour" under Tiger Island. Here, a week later, he was joined by Robinson and Noretti, who brought "much sugar for lading."

The news that Weddell and his four ships had reached Tiger Island and that three of his merchants were actually in Canton filled the Portuguese with envy and dismay, and they lost no time in sending a wordy protest, holding the English answerable for any losses that might accrue to them in consequence of such actions. "The said protest was forthwith answeared in a slighting Manner," Weddell professing himself to be too busy to give it careful attention. Whether the Portuguese were directly answerable for the subsequent attempt to destroy the fleet is not clear, but there seems little doubt that they knew of the design and lent it their support.

On the 10th September 1637, at the turn of the tide on a dark night, the Chinese launched fireships among the British vessels, hoping to catch them while they were swinging athwart the river. The "plotte" was "put in execution," says Mundy, when "wee thoughtt our selves Most secure and happy off our good hopes and beegining off trade." The ships quickly cut their cables, and the three "Junckes all in Flaming Fire" happily "Drave withoutt" the fleet, which thus escaped

injury. Of this "passage" also Mundy has a very full account, "beecause it is the first fire Daunger that I ever yett have seene my selff in."

Their narrow escape caused Weddell and his associates to begin to "Mistrust the Dealing of Nurretti and to Fear the saffety off our Merchantts att Cantan," whither Robinson had returned with another boatload of goods. An inspection of Tiger Island revealed further preparations for the destruction of the fleet, and "In regard more fireshippes were expected" and "our Riding here was soe Distastfull to the Chinois and soe full of Danger to our selves," Weddell decided to go back to his old anchorage under Anung-hoi Fort. Many discussions as to the best line of action to be pursued took place among the commanders and merchants. At one time it was decided to return to Macao, charge the Portuguese with the late assault and demand satisfaction. Later, "Thatt resolution" was "alltred," and it was agreed to "Doe all the spoile wee could unto the Chinois" in revenge for the attack of the fireships and the detention of the three merchants in Canton, for whose safety grave fears were now entertained, no news of them having been received for a fortnight.

Accordingly, several junks were seized and burnt, villages were destroyed and Anung-hoi Fort was blown up. The only effect of these actions was a "lettre from the Mandareenes," desiring Weddell to wait quietly "yett 10 Daies, and then we should have our requiry." But as this was looked upon as a ruse to gain "tyme to putt their intentts into practice," and as news had been received from the Mountneys that they "were kept in straightt and feared Dayly to have their persons seized," and were without any tidings of Robinson, it was judged advisable to get out of reach of danger. The ships therefore sailed down the estuary and anchored off Lintin Island whence a protest was sent to the Portuguese.

charging them with complicity in the attack of the fireships and the imprisonment of the Merchants in Canton, as well as with "contempt off our Kings Majesties Friendly letter."

This document appears to have caused much perturbation amongst the Senate at Macao. In consequence, they changed their tactics and sent two emissaries bearing a friendly letter, and entrusted with the task of explaining away the charges in the protest. The intermediaries, a Jesuit Father and a Spanish Major, were known to the English, for both had sailed with the fleet from Malacca. The "Jesuitt" performed his task well. He "Denied allmost every article" of the protest, and succeeded in working a complete change in the attitude of Weddell and his associates. From blustering they descended to entreaty, and in reply to the courteous note brought by the emissaries, sent an almost servile letter, begging the Portuguese to use their influence to procure the release of the three merchants detained at Canton and to accord facilities at Macao to make up a cargo.

The cause of this sudden change of tone seems to have been fear for the lives of the Mountneys and Robinson. At any rate, that is the only explanation offered by Mundy, and it is obvious that he and Weddell, as well as Arthur Hatch, the Minister, agreed with reluctance to such a course. "Necessity compelling us . . . broughtt us to thatt which otherwise would not have bin condiscended unto."

While awaiting an answer from Macao, the English had the opportunity of recouping themselves for all their losses, had they so minded. A richly laden Spanish galleon from Manila anchored "somewhatt Near us," and much discussion took place "whither it were best to stay her or lette her goe." The decision "not to Meddle with her for sundry good reasons," principally

the fact that Spain and England were then at peace, "bredd greatt Murmuring in our whole Fleete amongst the Commonalty."

On the 2nd October 1637, the Jesuit Father returned with a satisfactory letter from the Captain General of Macao. The "best indeavours" of the Portuguese for the release of the imprisoned merchants were promised and also facilities for trade. An agreement was drafted, and Mundy was one of the four selected to go to Macao and "conclude on the Articles." However, the Portuguese declined to treat with any but the Commander, and unless "himselfe came in person," they "desired none att all to come."

Mundy therefore went with Thomas Woollman, master of the *Sun*, on another quest, namely to find a safe and convenient anchorage for the fleet within easy distance of Macao. They were, moreover, ordered to pay a visit of courtesy to the captain of the Spanish galleon and congratulate him on his safe arrival. They were hospitably received and found the fittings on board very luxurious, even the "inferiour officers" being "served with some plate," while in "the greatt Cabbin there was aboundance in variety." Here Mundy first tasted "Chucculatte," a beverage "accompted very wholesome."

The next day he and Woollman were sent to Macao with a letter excusing Weddell's personal attendance unless hostages for his safety were forthcoming. The Portuguese affected to be greatly hurt at such mistrust of their motives, and sent another letter "earnestly entreating and requesting" Weddell "and the rest of the Commaunders" to come to Macao. "There were many inconveniences, Doubtts and Daungers cast if hee went," and neither Captain Swanley nor Captain Carter could be induced to accompany him. So in the end, "hee went alone, accompanied only with our Minister,

the Purser of the *Dragon* and myselffe." The party were "saluted with 5 great peeces of Ordnance," conducted to "a very faire howse," and entertained to a sumptuous repast. Then followed a conference at the Senate House, where it was agreed that five Portuguese of standing should go up to Canton to effect the release of the imprisoned merchants. In return for this concession, Weddell gave an undertaking that as soon as his associates were delivered up in safety, "hee would Forthwith Depart and Never trouble these parts No more."

On the 10th October the party returned to the fleet, to the surprise of those who had suspected foul play from the Portuguese. The ships now "fell Downe" to Urmston Harbour, and having arranged for a "limmitted trade in Macao," a house was hired on shore and Mundy was entrusted with the business of "selling our owne commodities" and "buying and shiping of theirs."

Early in November the Portuguese fleet returned from Japan after an unsuccessful voyage, the Dutch having anticipated their arrival and "spoiled their Markett by underselling them." This disappointment made the Portuguese regret their concessions to the English in the matter of trade, and henceforth they baulked them at every opportunity. There had been "Variable Newes" from Canton and many false reports, so that "wee hung beetweene hope and Dispaire." At last, on the 10th November, a reassuring letter from the Mountneys and Robinson reached Macao. They advised that they had managed to provide about 600 tons of goods and "hoped to come Downe themselves very sodainely."

However, as day after day went by and there was no further reliable news, great "perplexity" prevailed, and anxiety regarding the fate of those "alofft" was renewed. There was, moreover, "generall Discontentts throughoutt" the fleet, "Imputationes among the

great ones," and " Murmurings among the Inferiours." Mundy, a lover of peace, took no part in these dissensions, but relieved the tedium of waiting for tidings by witnessing dramatic performances by " China boies " and by the pupils of the Jesuit Fathers.

Finally, on the 28th November 1637, " Our as long expected as Desired Merchants arrived att Macao," bringing with them " much off the goods they advized off," and on the 30th, Weddell, Nathaniel Mountney and Captain Swanley signed the undertaking agreed upon, which Mundy considered " odly indited."

An opportunity now presented itself for our author to embark on a further and more extensive voyage and gratify his heart's desire. The Spanish galleon already mentioned was bound for Spain, via Manila and Mexico. The knowledge " bredde " in Mundy a longing to " proceed on the same Easterly course till I had ended where I beegan, and soe to have once made one circle round aboutt the globe of the Earth, which would have bin a voyage of voyages."

Among the reasons he brought forward in support of his desire was the little need of his services, since the China venture had not answered the expectations of its promoters. Probably, too, he was anxious to escape from the quarrelsome atmosphere of the ships. He therefore approached the captain of the galleon and begged a passage on his vessel. But permission was refused on the ground that the Convention of Goa was " not yet confirmed by our Kings " and that he " thereffore Durst not carry any straungers." So, most unwillingly, Mundy " let the Action Fall."

In December the *Catherine's* lading was completed, and she left Macao on the 20th with orders to call first at Achin and then at Bhatkal before sailing for England. The *Anne* had already been sold to the Spanish captain, having been found too unseaworthy for the homeward

voyage. Weddell had now only the *Dragon* and *Sun* in his charge and was anxious to make up their cargoes with all speed since many of his "yong Men" were deserting.

On Christmas Day a letter was received from Noretti, who must have over-estimated the credulity of his victims. He pretended that the Viceroy of Canton, who had recently arrived at the city, was prepared to accord to the English freedom of trade and "a place to reside in." But, as Mundy remarks, "how hee may bee Creditted wee know nott." The next day Mundy was sent to the Captain General to request him to issue an official notice of the impending departure of the *Dragon* and the *Sun* so that all who had "accompts with us might come and cleare them." Mundy arrived at an inauspicious moment. The Captain General had learned that, in spite of strict orders to the contrary, numerous Portuguese had secretly obtained passages in Weddell's ships to secure safety from attacks by the Dutch and to avoid paying customs on the goods they carried. The Governor vented his wrath on Weddell's messenger, and "Fell a Rayling in Most violent Manner with uncivill and Discourteous language," not "suffring" him to "speake one word."

On the 27th December, exactly six months after their arrival at Macao, the crews were all aboard, but it was two days later before the ships set sail. In the interval John Mountney and Thomas Robinson "went ashoare once againe" to deliver a final protest to the Portuguese. However, in spite of having been "variously Crosed" in their "Designe," their "lives, shipping, goodes, etts., Molested, endaungered, Damnified," and "all things Don in hast and Doubt," the merchants were so anxious to open up trade with China that they would have made further attempts, had they not been "expelled in all hast," leaving a large portion of their capital uninvested.

While in China, according to his wont, Mundy made use of every opportunity to gather information, not only of the life and religion of the people of "this soe great Ritche and Famous a kingdome," but also of their language. Some of his pertinent remarks on these varied subjects will be noted later.

On the 30th December 1637 the *Dragon* and *Sun*, carrying besides their own crews, "nere 140 Portugalls," departed from Macao and sailed for the newly-established factory at Achin. The *Sun* had already an unenviable notoriety in the matter of deaths from sickness and accident, and her ill-luck still pursued her. Shortly after leaving Macao she lost a "proper lusty honest fellow," who fell from the "Mayne toppe" into the sea, thus reducing her company to 66, the "Just halffe" with which she left England. The *Dragon* also lost a "very laborious, carefull honest Man." "And thus," says Mundy, "we beegin our New yeare. God grauntt the following part proove better."

Nothing further of importance occurred until the 12th January 1638 when, off Pedra Branca (Straits of Singapore), the ships spoke with three Dutch vessels who passed on news received from Europe, the item which most closely concerned Weddell and his companions being the death of their principal employer, Sir William Courteen. A demand was made by the Dutch for the surrender of the Portuguese passengers with all their property, but these having been "close stowed" when the Dutch ships were sighted, their existence was denied. The Dutch therefore drew off for reinforcements and bent their course to the south of the island of Singapore. Weddell followed them through a "large straight or passage" (the modern Straits of Singapore), which was found to be "very safe and spacious."

Soon after, five Dutch ships "came uppe with us"

and " desired us to Anchor untill Day, which wee Did." In the morning they sent a letter demanding the delivery of the Portuguese and their goods, full details of which they declared they had obtained from " our owne people." In return, they offered " largesse " to the Commanders and the crews and threatened to enforce their instructions to " search any shippe " should they be met by a refusal.

A heated debate followed, and " Some howres past " in " controverting the matter." John Darell, who wrote an account of the incident from hearsay some years later, says that " a glass " was turned as a time limit for the English to give their answer ; that Weddell was in favour of fighting and Swanley of surrender, whereupon Weddell gave Swanley " reproachful and uncivil language, as coward and the like."

In the end, so Mundy tells us, preparations were made to meet an assault " the best wee could," the ships being much encumbered with the baggage of the passengers. It was then, according to Darell, that Captain Swanley suggested that the " Black box " containing the Royal Warrants should be opened, and the Royal Commission granted to Weddell for taking prizes was shown to the Dutch. This gave him power to seize the persons and goods of the subjects of the King of Spain if they attempted to hinder the trade of Courteen's merchants or used any violence towards them. By virtue of this Commission Weddell asserted that he had " possessed himselffe " of the Portuguese and their property, and he threatened to protest against the Dutch " if they did Molest us."

Darell says that the Dutch commander was much troubled at the sight of the royal signature, " fretting and fuming and tearing his hair," for he had not instructions how to act " in that case." In the end he forbore to fight and allowed the English ships to pass without

interference. This was a fortunate decision for Weddell who, with two ships "much pestred," could hardly have got the better of five less heavily laden. Moreover, as Mundy remarks, had the English come off victors, there would have been "no saffety For us in all these seas" from future attacks. A further consideration of still more weight was that "Most of our company were unwilling to Fightt with the Hollanders," although offered the substantial bribe of a sixth of the "Portugalls goods." Probably the men were not taken in by Weddell's pretended seizure of the property of his passengers.

At Malacca, where the *Dragon* and *Sun* put in on the 16th January to land a few of the Portuguese, they found the inhabitants "in perplexity" on account of the Dutch who were tightening the blockade of the place. In fact, many persons tried to "come away with us to seeke their Fortunes elcewhere," but the ships "took in few or none." On the 19th they sailed for Achin, and to the end of the month met with "Much calmes" and "Nothing elce worth Notice."

Achin was reached on the 3rd February. The settlement under Edward Knipe was found to be in a thriving condition, but the Achinese themselves were trembling under the yoke of the new monarch who had wreaked his vengeance in inhuman fashion on the participators in a plot against his life.

Weddell just missed the *Catherine*, which sailed the day before his arrival. She had taken in part of the goods available at Achin, and the *Dragon*, with the remainder, set out on the 13th February for the West Coast of India. The *Sun* was left to complete her cargo and then make the best of her way to England, but it was not until the 3rd March 1638 that she was ready for the homeward voyage.

In the interval Mundy, who had transhipped from

the *Dragon*, extended his knowledge of the elephant and had his first ride on one, an " uneasy " experience, since he was the " hindermost " of three " on the Ridge off his Monstrous massy Chine bones."

The various commodities brought from China were found to yield a substantial price at Achin and the money thus obtained was invested in pepper. Among other things Mundy noted a considerable rise in the value of the mace since his last visit.

After nearly two years' absence from their native land, the crew of the *Sun* set out for home. Captain Richard Swanley was in command, with Thomas Woollman master. On board were Thomas Robinson, Mundy, Jeremy Weddell, William Bushell, with other factors not named in the narrative.

From Sumatra the *Sun* sailed westward, crossing the Equator on the 14th March and sighting the island of Diego Rodriguez on the 11th April 1638. Mundy found plenty of entertainment during the voyage in fishing and in watching the habits of the animal life which surrounded the ship.

A leak " which brake outt uppon us " decided Captain Swanley to put in at Mauritius, and on the 15th April the *Sun* anchored in Water Bay on the north of the island. Three days were spent in carrying out the necessary repairs and in taking in water and refreshments. Mundy had already heard of the attractions of the island and he lost no time in making personal acquaintance with them. He learned the story of Peter Butt's Head, " a wondrous Monument Named on a straunge occasion"; he noted the "particularities" of the island, its animal and vegetable productions, not forgetting the Dodo, which he did not see, and the now also extinct " Mauritius hen," of which he has an illustration. He found the island a " pleasaunt and commodious place " and an ideal spot for a settlement, " Both land

and Sea" contributing plenteously "as well For Necescity as pleasure and conveniency."

On the 18th April the *Sun* once more weighed anchor and shaped her course for home, where, under ordinary circumstances, she would have arrived in about six months. But the first of May lived up to its traditional bad character and provided the beginning of a series of storms to buffet the sorely tried ship. On the 2nd the "greatt boate" which much "wrongued" the vessel was cut up, but the removal of this impediment did not effect much good. From the 3rd to the 20th May the only cessation from gales was "a Breathing to beegin affresh," and on the latter date the storm increased in violence and "staggered our weake vessell" to the limit of her endurance.

Eventually, it was considered suicidal to continue the voyage in a "Dutch built, weake, leaky and Ironsicke shippe." It was therefore decided to put back to Madagascar, a "greatt way to beare upp For a harbour, there beeing None other Nearer" so suitable and safe as St Augustine's Bay at the south-west of that island. On the way the ship encountered more heavy seas which washed right over her and compelled her to steer "quarter windes For a while." When at last she anchored in the Bay, on the 4th June, her master and Thomas Robinson were both in a dying condition. The former only survived a week and the latter passed away on the 16th June, death putting "a period to all his greatt travells and troubles."

The ship was found to be so "much shaken" that, at the end of a month, after all had been done to her with the means available, "it was held very Daungerous to proceed on her For England." At this juncture the East India Company's ship *Discovery*, under Captain William Minors, put in at St Augustine's Bay. Captain Swanley immediately "made this our case knowne unto

our New come Frends" and begged assistance. It was not surprising that the request was met with a point blank refusal to help "any enterlopers." Swanley was very indignant and lodged a protest containing a list of his requirements with Captain Minors, declaring that the Company should be held responsible for all losses occasioned by the refusal. But "all would not serve," and when the *Discovery* set sail for India on the 3rd July, the plight of the *Sun* seemed wellnigh hopeless.

However, on the 2nd August, "it pleased God to send us in to our comffort the shippe *Planter*." Since parting with the fleet in April 1637 she had made a successful voyage to England, and was now on her way to Bhatkal with a second cargo. Her captain willingly supplied all that was required, and the *Sun* was at once "brought asterne" and repairs begun. The leaks were found to be too extensive to be satisfactorily stopped, and a conference was held to know whether "the officers" would "goe From hence to England on this weake, deffective and leaky shippe," with the chance of encountering winter storms in home waters, or "to bear backe againe For India, there to repaire our hurtts and supply our wantts." They "all replyed in a Joint voice" that they would run any risk rather than "returne backe for India; and soe it was resolved on." The *Planter* therefore sailed for India, and Captain Swanley employed all hands in doing everything possible to fit his unseaworthy ship for the ordeals awaiting her, at the same time providing an adequate supply of "homeward bound reffreshing."

His prolonged stay at Madagascar gave Mundy the opportunity of adding to the knowledge he had previously obtained of the island during his brief visit in 1628. Then he was struck by the grotesque manner of hairdressing adopted by the natives. Now he examined the various fashions minutely and made elaborate drawings

of them. The industries carried on by the Malagasy, their method of barter and their religious customs all received his attention, as well as the animal life of the south-west portion of the island. His efforts to acquire some knowledge of the Malagasy tongue and the value of his work to the student of philology will be dealt with later.

At last, on the 28th August 1638, the good ship *Sun* once more directed her course for England. A month later she was off the Cape, and while "thwart off itt, affter Morning prayer," Captain Swanley urged on his ship's company the advisability of going "Directly For St Hellena" rather than putting in at that inhospitable spot, where they could expect nothing but "Sorrell, Mussels and water," the latter to be obtained with much risk and difficulty. Of St Helena he drew so glowing a picture that it was "Concluded to proceed Forthwith" to that island.

Beyond a strong south-easterly gale, nothing further occurred to try the leaky worn-out ship, and St Helena was reached in a fortnight: "a speedy passage." Mundy's second visit to the island was made at a favourable moment. The hills were covered with verdure; fresh water and ripe lemons were to be had in abundance; the "Cattle allsoe Never in better case."

Five days sufficed to lay in a "store of hogges and goates" and other "reffreshing." Then, having written on a board the name of the ship and her officers with the time of arrival and departure, they "Nayled itt Fast" in the chapel built by the Portuguese. This edifice had been "New repaired by the Hollanders" since Mundy's last visit in 1634.

From St Helena homewards the "Faire weather, mooth seas and Favourable windes" experienced since passing the Cape happily continued. Had the ship encountered heavy storms, she could hardly have battled through them, for on the 20th November she became

"More leaky," and though, on the 22nd, "the said leake" was found and "stopt," it "broke outt againe" on the 25th, and the crew were compelled to pump "aboutt 80 strokes every glasse or halffe hower" or "att least 16 tonnes off water" daily, the "leake lying aboutt her bowes Not to bee come by." But this labour "prooved beneficiall" to the health of the men and, in Mundy's opinion, provided a "good breathing exercise."

On Saturday the 15th December 1638 Mundy and some of his companions were "sett on shoare" at Dover "to proceed Forthwith to our Imployers." They took post horses, rode all night and reached London early on Sunday morning. In the two years and eight months in which he had been abroad, our traveller reckoned that he had sailed altogether 36,204 miles, a considerable addition to the 27,000 and odd miles which he computed he had covered in his former voyage to India and back.

Of his fellow travellers in the expedition Mundy has comparatively little to say, and he mentions very few of them by name. John Fortune, with whom he made the outward voyage in the *Planter*, he found "a plaine honest quiet Man, but of No great courage, comportment Nor commaund." There is not a single remark about the five captains to show his opinion of them, and we are ignorant as to whether he considered the statements of the Portuguese respecting the arrogance of Nathaniel Mountney and Richard Swanley to be justified. Although Mundy was associated on various occasions with Thomas Robinson, John Mountney, Thomas Woollman and Christopher Parr, he is silent regarding all except Robinson, whose chequered history he probably learnt during the journey from Bhatkal to Ikkeri. Of Arthur Hatch, the Minister of the *Dragon*, with whom he was apparently in sympathy at Macao, he is also silent. He offers no opinion of the altercations that took place on the way to India and at Goa. Indeed, he must

have held himself aloof from all such things, for of the "differences" which led to the departure of Captain Molton for England in the *Planter*, he professes entire ignorance. The "Imputationes" and "Discontented Murmurings," rife among both the "greate ones" and the "Inferiours," during the trying months spent in the Canton River, caused real distress to his peace-loving nature and were doubtless among the reasons that led him to attempt to sever his connection with Weddell's Expedition and obtain a passage in the Spanish vessel bound to Mexico. Beyond a reference to Henry Glascock, "an old Freind and acquaintance off Myne, Mundy only twice alludes to any association with his companions on intimate terms, once at Pulo Tioman when he, with William Baron and John Smart, hauled a huge Tridacna shell "outt of the Oase," and again, just before leaving Macao, when he "with other Freinds" walked beyond the boundary wall.

The estimation in which he was held by the leaders of the expedition can be judged by the confidential missions with which he was entrusted. He was selected to go ashore at Kārwār and prospect for an anchorage; he accompanied Thomas Robinson to Ikkeri to obtain a concession requiring the exercise of diplomatic skill; and he was one of the three deputed to carry the letter of Charles I. to the Captain General of Macao. While in China, he took part in most of the interviews with both Chinese and Portuguese officials, being associated with John Mountney in an attempt to placate the Chinese and with Thomas Woollman in a dangerous cruise in the estuary of the Canton River. Finally, when the tempers of Weddell, Nathaniel Mountney, and Swanley had strained the relations with the Portuguese to breaking point, it was Mundy who was put in charge of the house hired in Macao where the English carried on the "limmitted trade" allowed them.

Of Mundy's acuteness of observation, so frequently noted in his early travels, we have again ample illustration. Among the many objects which attracted his attention and excited his pertinent remarks are:— the solid-wheel carts of Portland; "strange bullocks" at Johanna; the Crowned Crane he saw at Goa; the processional car at Ikkeri; "White people" in the Malay Archipelago; white porpoises in the Canton River; "Beeombos" (screens), gold fish, porcelain, "black Flesht poultry," at Macao; green snakes at Achin; "Ebon" and other trees at Mauritius; the Malagasy guitar and the special beads used for currency at St Augustine's Bay; a Portuguese pig-pen at St Helena.

In the "habitts" of the various peoples with whom he came in contact Mundy also took great interest, and he has both word and pen pictures of all that he saw, his contemporary descriptions and illustrations of Chinese costumes being particularly valuable.

Boats and boatbuilding received a full share of his attention, from the dug-outs of Johanna, Cochin and Madagascar, to the several kinds of junks in the Canton River. A ship's cradle at Goa, a novelty to him, excited his wonder and admiration. In this connection he noticed the various methods of fishing that obtained in the different countries that he visited.

Mundy also took the opportunity to be present at various pastimes and recreations, such as buffalo-baiting at Goa, elephant and cock fighting at Achin, dramatic representations and a kind of tilting at the ring at Macao, of all of which he has descriptions.

As a boy, before starting on his extensive travels, he had mastered the Spanish and French languages, and during his five years in India he seems to have acquired a working colloquial knowledge of Gujarātī and Persian, with probably a little Portuguese, for in November 1633,

when he was appointed "factor mareene" at Swally to "act for our owne and the Persians goods," the reason given for selecting him was that "his language, care and knowledge" promised "the well performance of that service[1]."

In this voyage he enlarged his Portuguese vocabulary and made serious attempts to acquire other languages in spite of the handicap of his dependence on interpreters imperfectly acquainted with English. It says much for his perseverancé and accurate ear that he was able to compile a list of some two hundred Chinese characters with transcription and meaning, as well as a list of equal length of Malagasy words and expressions, nearly every one of which is identifiable.

The philological student is also indebted to him for the earliest known reference to the Custard Apple under the name of Anona, and also for early examples of the terms Paulist and Kimona. He gives us the word "pevetts," an anglicised form of the Spanish *pebete*, incense, and "choa," a Portuguese form of Cantonese *ts'o*, a sea-going junk. Then there is his Sanskrit form "haste," for the measure long known as "haut" (*hāth*, cubit), and his "turon (turanae) or tay" for the tael, which proved a difficult puzzle to solve. He has also some unusual spellings and forms, such as "fishgae" (for fizgig or harpoon) and "dinedapper" (for dabchick).

Instead of pluming himself on his increased knowledge, Mundy's natural caution and fear of jumping to conclusions seems to increase. He puts forth a tentative explanation of the presence of fossil shells at Portland; he leaves the solution of showers of living creatures to the "decision of the Learned," he knows "not how" the *termites* "temper their clay, except with Dew." Of the "Religion off the Chinois" he "cannott speake

[1] Consultation at Surat, 12th November 1633 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 1).

much"; of the preparation of musk he repeats the current erroneous notion, but adds, "This by report"; of the "straunge Beasts, Fowle, Fishes, Fruitts" of China, he "setts downe only those Few thatt came to My sight," and he leaves a "More ample, exact and particular Description off this Most ancient and Famous kingdome" to others who had "More tyme, better abillity and oportunity to perfforme the same." His deduction with regard to the "Manner off catching Flies" by the chameleon is correct, but he gives it as "only Myne opinion," having heard "some say otherwise."

Among the digressions introduced in this section of the manuscript, the most interesting is Mundy's short essay on "The use of the variation off the Compasse," a dissertation which has been made perfectly intelligible to the modern reader by Lieut.-Com. G. T. Temple's illuminating note. Mundy has also a good deal to say about climate and temperature, and his final remark shows "How in sayling North or South Daies Doe shorten or lengthen."

RELATION XX.

SOME OBSERVATIONS SINCE MY ARRIVAL HOME FROM INDIA, 1634, TILL MY DEPARTURE THITHER AGAINE ON SIR WILLIAM COURTEENES SHIPPS, *VIZT.*

HAVEINGE Cleired with the Honourable East India Company, whose servant I was[1], I prepared to goe downe to my freinds in the Countrey.

Rareties att John Trediscans.

In the meane tyme I was invited by Mr Thomas Barlowe (whoe went into India with my Lord of Denbigh and returned with us on the *Mary*)[2] to view some rarieties att John Tredescans[3], soe went with him and one freind more, where wee spent that whole day in peruseinge [examining], and that superficially, such as hee had gathered together, as beasts, fowle, fishes, serpents, wormes (reall, although dead and dryed), pretious stones and other Armes, Coines, shells, fethers, etts. of sundrey Nations, Countries, forme, Coullours; also diverse Curiosities in Carvinge, painteinge, etts.,

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[1] See vol. II. p. 338.

[2] See vol. II. p. 323 *n.*

[3] John Tradescant the elder, traveller, naturalist and gardener, who died in 1637 or 1638. His son, John Tradescant the younger, was probably abroad at this time, as he is known to have been in Virginia in 1637 collecting flowers, shells, etc. For an account of both father and son, see the articles in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

as 80 faces carved on a Cherry stone, Pictures to bee seene by a Celinder which otherwise appeare like confused blotts, Medalls of Sondrey sorts, etts[1]. Moreover, a little garden with divers outlandish herbes and flowers[2], whereof some that I had not seene elswhere but in India, being supplyed by Noblemen, Gentlemen, Sea Commaunders, etts.[3] with such Toyes [curiosities] as they could bringe or procure from other parts. Soe that I am almost perswaded a Man might in one daye behold

[1] In a catalogue of the Tradescant collection, published in 1656, these objects are thus described :—" Mechanick artificiall Works in Carvings . . . A Cherry-stone, upon one side S. George and the Dragon, perfectly cut: and on the other side 88 Emperours faces . . . Variety of Rarities. Severall sorts of Magnifying glasses: Triangular, Prismes, Cylinders." Under " Medalls " are enumerated Gold (5), Silver (55), Copper and Lead (52). *Musæum Tradescantianum; or A Collection of Rarities Preserved at South-Lambeth neer London.* By J. T. [John Tradescant junior], London, 1656.

It is doubtful whether the carved cherry-stone seen by Mundy at Lambeth was sent to Oxford with the rest of the " rarities " handed over to Elias Ashmole by Tradescant's widow. It is not in existence now, but among the Tradescant specimens at the Ashmolean Museum are six plum or " apricock " stones carved in the same manner with minute figures. A drawing of the cherry-stone is, however, preserved. Mr D. G. Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, to whom I am indebted for the above information, tells me that under a pencil drawing of the stone in an *Ashmole MS.* at the Bodleian Library (1131—183) is a note in 17th century handwriting (? Ashmole's) as follows :— " The draught of a cherry-stone whereon St George on ye one side and divers heads on the other by Capt. Burgh and given by him to Mr John Tradescant who preserved it amongst the rarities." The drawing shows the two faces of the stone enlarged some 3 diameters, with a sketch of the stone natural size beside. About 80 heads are arranged concentrically on one side.

Mr Hogarth is of opinion that the note under the drawing leaves the question open as to whether the stone itself was ever in Tradescant's hands or only Captain Burgh's drawing of it. But, judging from Mundy's usual accuracy of statement, I feel convinced that the cherry-stone was among the " rarieties " that he actually saw.

The particular magnifying glass described by Mundy cannot be traced at the Ashmolean Museum.

[2] The Physic Garden and Tradescant's " Ark " (or his house containing his collection) were situated in the South Lambeth Road. The neighbourhood of the site is commemorated by Tradescant Road a street on the east side of the modern South Lambeth Road. The number and variety of plants in Tradescant's Physic Garden are described in the list entitled *Catalogus Plantarum in Horto Johannis Tradescanti nascentium.* It occupies pp. 73—178 in John Tradescant's catalogue quoted above.

[3] Among the " Principall Benefactors " to the Tradescant collection are the names of William " Curteene " Esqr., Captain Weddell and Captain Swanley. *Musæum Tradescantianum*, by J. T.

and collecte into one place more Curiosities then hee should see if hee spent all his life in Travell. Mr Job Best[1] is said to bee well stored with the like, dwellinge att Rattcliffe.

Alsoe att Sir Henry Moodies, lyeing in the Strand[2], one of his gentlemen shewed mee divers conceipts [devices, inventions] of his Masters. Amonge the rest, the roome being made quite darke, only one little hole in it with a glasse through which a light strooke to the opposite side, where was placed white paper, and thereon was represented, as in a glasse, all that was without, as Boates roweing on the Thames, men rideinge on the other side, trees, etts., but all reversed or upside downe, in their true Collours[3].

Nott long after I went to the Tower of London, where I saw a Unicorns horne, about 1½ yards in length and 2 or 2½ Inches diameter att the bigger end, goeinge Taperwise and wreathed, although somewhat smoothe (I thinck by often handlinge). It was white, resemblinge the substance of an Eliphants Tooth, estimated

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[1] I can find no trace of any Job Best at this date, nor does the name Job occur among the various references to the Best family in the 17th century. At the period when Mundy was in London, Thomas Best of Whitehouse Street and his son Josias were both well known inhabitants of Ratcliffe. It is possible (as Mr William Foster suggests) that Josias was familiarly called Jo, and if Mundy heard of him as Mr Jo Best, the mistake is easily explained. It is also extremely probable that the Bests of Whitehouse Street had a collection of "rarieties," since Thomas Best, who served the East India Company from 1613 to 1617, made several voyages to the East. In his will he bequeathed his "est India sword or Seimtary" to his grandson Thomas. See the article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* on Thomas Best, where however the date of his death (August 1639) has not been traced. See also *Wills Proved in the P.C.C.* (148 Harvey), and *Memorials of Stepney Parish* (Hill and Frere), addenda to p. 31.

[2] Sir Henry Moody of Garsdon, Wilts, 2nd Baronet, succeeded his father (cr. 1622) in 1629. He emigrated to Massachusetts with his mother, Lady Deborah Moody, a nonconformist, in 1636. Their estate was sequestrated in 1646 and Sir Henry died in Virginia in 1661. See *The Complete Baronetage*, I. 191. I have found no other record of Sir Henry Moody's scientific tastes or his "divers conceipts."

[3] This appears to be an early mention of the Camera Obscura in England. William Molyneux's *Dioptrica Nova*, published in 1692, was the first work to be printed in English on the subject.

att 18 or 20000 pounds Sterlinge[1]. This, as all the rest are, conceived to bee rather the horne of some fish then of a beast, because such a beast now a dayes is not to bee found, although discoveries att present are in farr greater perfection then they were then.

Lobster boates.

Beinge safely arrived and welcomed home by my friends, in feiwe daies after I returned to London to sell some Indian Commodities that would not off [go off, sell] in the Countrey, and tooke my passage in a Lobster boate. There are 2 of them that all the Sommer longe doe goe and come to the west countrey to carry away such Lobsters as are there provided against their Comeinge downe by men lefte there on purpose, whoe buy them of the fishermen, and keepe them in potts till they come for them. Theis boats may carry each about 100 dozen, somewhat more or lesse, and in one Sommer they may carry away about 14 or 15000 Lobsters att the least. They take them not aboard until the wynde be faire for them, and then they lay them on the Ballace [ballast, *i.e.*, in the hold], and comonly within 48 howres they arrive att Weymouth. What [with being] in the boate and on Horseback before they arrive att London, there are neere $\frac{1}{3}$ part dead of them, which are little esteemed of and sold att low prices. With the rest the King's Kitchin is supplied and then the Court and Cittie[2].

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[1] Mundy's estimate of the value of this horn (probably a narwhal's tusk) is greatly in excess of that given in "A true Inventorie and Appraisement of all the Plate now being in the Lower Jewell House in the Tower . . . taken 13 August 1649," where is noted "The unicornes hornes weighing 40 lb. 8 oz. valued at 600*l.* os. od." See *Archæologia*, xv. 274. Paul Hentzner, however, writing in 1598, saw at Windsor Castle "the horn of a unicorn, of above eight spans and a half in length, valued at above 10,000*l.*" *Travels in England*, ed. 1892, pp. 72—73. This may have been the horn described by Mundy, but I have failed to trace its transfer to the Tower.

[2] A century later Cornish lobsters were sent direct to London by "Well-boats." See Borlase, *Natural History of Cornwall*, p. 274.

The Gullrock.

Some 4 or 5 miles to the Eastward of Falmouth[1] wee stopped at a Rocke standing out a litle in the Sea, commonly called the Gullrock[2], there to take in some Crabbs, which were there taken and kept for the Boate. Hither doe resort all the Sea fowle thereabouts to breede, as Gannetts[3], Gulls, Seameawes[4], Shaggs[5], Murres[6], Dinedappers[7], etts., which belongeth to a gentleman in the Countrey, whoe att tymes fetch away their Younge. Butt att the approach of any neere, there is such a fearefull confused noyse of Sondrey sorts of Fowle, old and younge, with multitudes hoveringe and flutteringe in the Ayer that it is strange to see and heere.

Torbay.

From thence by contrary Wyndes wee put into Torbay, which in my opinion for forme and bignes is the fairest in England, att least wise that I have seene, some 5 or 6 miles over, environed with pleasant Land,

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[1] By Falmouth Mundy meant the mouth of the river Fal and not the town at the head of the harbour. The name Falmouth, for the seaport erected by Sir John Killigrew on the site of the hamlets of Smithick (Smith-wick) and Penny-come-quick (Pen-y-cum-wick), was first used in 1661, when it became a corporate town.

[2] Gull Rock lies off Nare Point at the western extremity of Veryan Bay, about 5 miles from the eastern extremity of Falmouth Bay. "Between Deadman and Falmouth lieth a Rock above Water, called The Gull Rock." G. Collins, *Great Britain's Coasting Pilot* (1756), p. 4.

[3] The gannet or Solan-goose (*Sula bassana*).

[4] By "Gulls" and "Seameawes" Mundy may mean either the common gull (*Larus canus*) or the Herring gull (*Larus argentatus*). Both occur on the Cornish coast.

[5] The shag (*Phalacrocorax carbo*).

[6] By "Murres" Mundy may mean either the guillemot (*Uria troile*) or the razor-bill (*Alca torda*).

[7] "Dinedapper" is apparently the dabchick or little grebe (*Podiceps fluviatilis*), though Mr W. L. Sclater, to whom I am indebted for all these identifications, thinks it unlikely that the dabchick would be found nesting with the other sea birds mentioned. The ordinary colloquial names for the dabchick are dipper and didapper. There is no example of the spelling given by Mundy in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.*

yeilding a delightsome prospect through the aboundance of Trees groweing round about it. It is like the bigger Segment of a Circle.

Portland.

Next morninge wee departed and soe arrived att Weymouth, where haveinge occasion to staye a day or two, I went to the Peninsula of Portland, about 2 miles from the Towne[1]. It is almost an Island, only a narrow Beach extendinge six miles[2] in length almost by the mayne, and Joyneth with it neere to Abbottsbury. Betwene the said beach and the Land the sea runneth upp Neere 6 miles as aforesaid, somewhat broad within, although att the passage not ½ a stones Cast over. Heere bredd many Swanns, the Royaltie apperteyninge to Sir George Stranginge dwellinge neere by[3]. Theis have their Winges pinnioned or unjoynted to barre them from flyeinge away[4]. They breede among the Sedges on the Shoare and feede on the rootes and tender part of the grasse that growes in the water. There come divers wild ones amonge them, and in winter flock thither in aboundance all sorts of Waterfowle.

This indraught which cometh about by the Easter end of Portland was in hand to bee dreyned to make Pasture Land, whereon was spent great sommes of money in makeinge of sluces, trenches, etts. [and other] Inventions to keepe the Tide from comeing in, as also to lett out what is within. But as yet all is to litle purpose. This was in July 1635. The maine sea

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[1] Four miles by land and three by water.

[2] The beach is ten miles in extent.

[3] Mundy means Sir John Strangwayes. The Swannery, which still belongs to the Earl of Ilchester, a descendant of the Strangwayes, was granted to Giles Strangwayes in 1544 and to Sir John Strangwayes and his heirs in 1637. See Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, II. 723.

[4] The Abbotsbury swans are no longer pinioned, but are marked in the web of the foot.

soakeing through the beach all alonge, it is sayd they will proceed afresh[1].

Now back to Portland, and somewhat of what is in it and about it. In compasse it may bee 5 or 6 miles highe land, especially the Easter end, much noted by Seamen as one of their marks saylinge alonge the Chanell, it makeing an excellent road betwene it and the mayne, with 2 Castles, one of each side, the one named Portland Castle and th'other Sandfoote Castle, whoe Commaund the said Road and landinge places thereabouts[2]. The Southermost low Cleaves [cliffs] are worth notice, for passing betwene the Race and it with our boate they appeared like so many gates, portalls, or entrances, soe proportionable by nature, that scarce any would bee perswaded but that they were Cutt out by Arte, except hee were att and in one, as I was in one which was intirely seeled [ceiled] over with one flake [layer, sheet] of stone, 6 or 7 yards over, supporting the upper earth

Hard by in those Cleaves breed a Certen sea fowle named Pewitts[3]; many of them from hence carried to London, where they are kept, fedd and used for dainties.

Right off lies the Race of Portland, avoyded by seamen by reason of the tumblinge, ripplinge, tempestuous, swelling waves, occasioned, as they say,

[1] I have been unable to find any confirmation of this scheme for draining the Fleet in 1635, and the Dorset archæologists whom I have consulted can throw no light on the matter. Such a scheme nowadays would be hopeless unless an embankment were made all along the beach to keep out the water. Mr Nelson Richardson, however, thinks it probable that in 1635 the mouth of the Fleet, by the present Ferry Bridge, was much shallower than it now is, for before the building of the breakwater, *i.e.*, in the early part of the 19th century, it was possible to ride or even walk across the Fleet at low water.

[2] Portland Castle, commanding Weymouth Road, was built by Henry VIII. and Sandesfoot or Weymouth Castle was probably erected at the same time, *c.* 1530. See Hutchins, *History of Dorset*. II. 806—830 and Maton, *Observations . . . of the Western Counties of England*, I. 51.

[3] By pewitt, Mundy means the black-headed gull (*Larus ridibundus*), which, as Plot says was "accounted a good dish at the most plentifull Tables." See *Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire* (1686), ch. VII. paras. 7—12.

by a very strong tide runninge over uneven ground, for in one place there may bee but 12 or 13 fathom, and neere to it 30 or 40 againe. On the Cleaves, 2 or 3 fathom above full Sea marke, are store of great Oyster shells, not as others groweing or sticking fast to the rocke, but encorporated into the same, some halfe out, some more, some lesse. The like is on Weymouth sides on the bancks where now the Sea cometh not neere, nor the Springe or wash of it. I have seene in other places Rocks whollye compacted of shells, as well within as without. The reason may bee that those places in former tymes were under water, Oaze or Mudd, where those shelfishes did breede and feede. In tyme, the sea retireinge, as it is seene by experience, for where there was land and Townes now there is Sea, And where once shipps rode and boates did rowe are nowe howses built and corne reaped; Many that are now Islands in former tymes questionlesse joyned to the Mayne. I say, the sea withdrawing it selfe, it was exposed to the heate of the Sunn, by whose virtue Mudde, shellfish and all became one Rock.

There I went to the hewers of stone, which was carried for the reparation of St Paules church in London. There were about 200 workemen, some hewing out of the Cliffe alofte, some squareinge, some carryeing down, others ladeinge. Some stones there were ready squared and formed, of 9, 10 and 11 tonnes weight, as they said; some of them ready squared aloft and sent downe in Carts made of purpose[1]. Other rough peeces as they

[1] Portland stone began to be freely used for public buildings in the reign of James I. and was employed in the repairs of St Paul's and the erection of the Banqueting House, Whitehall.

Mr A. M. Wallis has most kindly furnished me with a description of the trolleys which Mundy saw. These were in use up to about the year 1880, when cranes and four-wheeled wagons took their place. The two-wheeled carts were 4 ft. wide and 18 ft. long, made of three ash planks 5 in. thick, fastened by flat pieces of iron on the under side. The middle plank was shorter than the two outer ones, which were cut away to form the shafts and accommodate the horse. The wheels were of solid wood and boxed, more often oval than round; the axle

were hewen out of the Rocke, were tumbled downe to bee squared belowe, The Rocke or quarry begininge alofte within halfe a Yard of the Surface of the earth which is of a reasonable good Mould.

The Island, for soe it is also called, affoards noe fewell of Wood, there being very few trees or bushes on it[1]. Perchance by industrey more might bee made to growe in it. But I rather thinck the Earth is naturally not soe apte to produce them, It beinge high, drye, a shallow mould, and somewhat stoney in most places. With the loose stones they make their hedges or partitions by only pileing them one upon the other (beinge flatt), which resemble Park walls[2]. It yieldeth good store of Corne, grasse and some hey, store of Cattle, especially sheepe, some excellent plaines and levell ground.

For Fewell they use Cowdung, kneaded and tempred with short strawe or strawe dust, which they make into flatt Cakes, and Clapping them on the side of their stoney walls, they become dry and hard, and soe they use them when they have occasion. The very same fewell, and ordered in the same manner, doe they use in India as [?all] the Country over, by Hindowes [Hindus], and Baneanes [Banians, *Banyā*, Hindu trader] especially, which seemed strange to mee[3]. They finde on

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was also of wood with a bar of iron let in on the under side. A back strap of knotted rope fitted on the back pad of the horse and took the weight of the load. There were no brakes. These carts carried 5 tons, and were drawn by a plow of eight horses, *i.e.*, eight horses in a string.

[1] Except round Pennsylvania Castle, there are still only a few scattered trees on Portland.

[2] Stone hedges are still a notable feature in the landscape of the district.

[3] Coker, *Survey of Dorsetshire*, ed. 1732, p. 38, remarks of Portland :—" The Grounde verie good for Corne, and indifferent pasture but soe destitute of Woode and Fuell, that the inhabitants are glad to burne their Cowe Dung, beeing first dried against Stone Walls, with which their Groundes are enclosed alltogether." Cowdung fuel was still in use in the middle of the 19th century. Exactly the same custom is still common all over India.

the sea side a Flatt stone which the poorer sort use to burne, but it stincketh abhominably in burninge[1].

Heere I saw a black fowle with Yellow Bill and Leggs, comonly called Cornish Dawes, many beinge of opinion that there were none elswhere to bee seene but in Cornewall or neere adjoyninge. For my part, untill now, in all that I have gone, I never sawe none out of that sheire[2].

Moreover, Portland Oysters are most esteemed in theis parts[3]. It consists of one parish. They say it hath a Lord whoe hath his Title from it[4]. A strange alteration betwene this and the Maine, the distance being soe small. From the foote of the Island to the passage[5] is about a mile along by the beach, where in tyme past were store of Connies, now none, only their burroughes and holes yett to bee seene. And soe, leaveing the Island, I returned to the Mayne.

Weymouth Snailes.

When I came over to Weymouth side, I found there on the grass a multitude of small Coulord shell snailes,

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[1] Maton, *Observations . . . of the Western Counties of England*, (1794—1796), I. 33, 54—55, describes this "fossil-coal" as an "argillaceous slate in a high degree of impregnation with bitumen, and of a blackish brown colour . . . when burnt to ashes it is used as manure." Mr Nelson Richardson informs me that the "flatte stones" were doubtless shale from the Kimmeridge Clay which is the formation at the base of Portland. He adds that Mundy is quite correct in his description of the smell.

[2] The Cornish chough, *Pyrrhocorax* (*Fregillus*) *Graculus*, a rare bird, but Mr W. L. Sclater informs me that it is occasionally found out of Cornwall on the British coasts as well as in parts of Europe, Asia and Africa. See Carew's remarks on this bird, *Survey of Cornwall*, ed. Tonkin, p. 110. See also Borlase's amusing description, *Natural History of Cornwall*, pp. 243—244.

[3] Mr Nelson Richardson is of opinion that Portland oysters are unknown at the present time. They were formerly found in the Fleet.

[4] The manor of Portland belonged to the Crown from the time of Edward IV. until 1800, when it was put up to auction. The first Earl of Portland, however, was Sir Richard Weston (1577—1635), Charles I.'s Lord High Treasurer, cr. 17th February 1633, and it is probably to him that Mundy alludes.

[5] The mouth of the Fleet, now known as Ferry Bridge.

½ as bigg as pease. The people report they dropp out of the Ayre, findeing them on their hatts as they walke the feilds[1]. The like is reported of the raineing of small froggs in the Isle of Jersy (where I had formerly bene)[2]. My brother[3] also told mee that neere Weymouth hee himselfe saw one of theis walking Fires called Ignis fatuus, which only Crosse[d] his way without any more hurt[4]. The naturall Cawses of theis things must be left to the decision of the Learned, as also of that light which is reported to appear on Shipps in or after stormes, termed by the Spaniard St Elmo[5]; heere being of our Company that have seene them, gon to them and found a Jelly or froth, which soe shined by night, stickinge on their Mast Yards, etts.

Dorchester—Maiden Castle.

From Weymouth I went to Dorchester. About the Middway is a place called the Maiden Castle, because they say it was never overcome[6]. It is now a little playne of about ¼ mile in compasse, somewhat ovall, neere to roundnesse, on the round topp of a hill, environed with 3 high bancks which made two deepe ditches or trenches, either of them beinge about 9 or 10 fathom

[1] For notes on showers of living creatures, see *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, vol. VI. 104, 189, 395; VII. 437; VIII. 493.

[2] Mundy went to Jersey in 1627. See vol. I. 144.

[3] No further clue is forthcoming with regard to this individual. See vol. II. p. lxxv.

[4] *Ignis fatuus*, popularly called Will-o'-the-wisp, Jack-o'-lantern, corpse-candle, etc.

[5] St Elmo is the patron saint of navigation.

[6] Maiden Castle in the parish of Winterbourne St Martin, 2 miles south-west of Dorchester, is one of the largest British earthworks in the West of England. Mundy is repeating the popular legend regarding the name, which became attached to it at least as early as the 12th century. The origin of the term "Maiden" in English place-names seems to be still unsettled. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the sense may be "a fortress so strong as to be capable of being defended by maidens." But the approved derivation of the Dorchester specimen is from British *mai dun*, great hill, the hill of the citadel or burgh. See Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, ed. 1863, II. 575.

high or deepe, and the circumference of the outer banck above ½ a mile—a Worke of great labour; some Monument of the Danes or Saxons Fortification. Also, neere to Dorchester is another small place environed with a very high and steepe bancke, with a little plaine in the midle, of an ovall forme, resemblinge an Amphitheater[1], ⅛ part of a mile about. Lykewise hereabout, as on Salsburye plaines, I saw and have seene divers longe trenches, one within another on the plaines, of greate use in Auntient tymes questionlesse.

Basinghowse.

Haveinge ended my busines att London, I returned againe downe Into the Countrie, and by the way went out of the way to see Basinge howse, the most part thereof built as I conceive with excessive Cost, of an exceeding height, of brick, but nowe forsaken and left desolate, every day expectinge its owne Ruyne and fall, except the old howse which yett keepes its forme and state[2].

Winchester.

From thence I went to the auntient Cittie of Winchester, once 50 and odd parishes, and att present not above 12 or 13, the rest within the Walls either voyd or turned to Gardens, etts[3]. Heere in the old Castle in a great hall, att one end thereof is fastned alofte

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[1] Maumbury Ring, an amphitheatre south-west of Dorchester, on the Roman road to Weymouth.

[2] Mundy is referring to the "New House," the buildings in the east court at Basing. These were erected in the middle of the 16th century, probably after the completion of the Citadel or "Old House." The "New House" was a very magnificent building, costing so much to keep up that part was pulled down early in the 17th century. The "Old House" was besieged during the Civil War and finally stormed (in 1645) by Cromwell, who ordered it to be demolished. See *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, IV. 115—119.

[3] Several of the numerous parishes of Winchester were united by Bishop Wykeham in the 14th century, and the number was again further curtailed in the reign of Henry VII. See Milner, *History . . of the Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. I.

Kinge Arthurs round Table[1], conteyninge about 18 or 20 feete Dyameter, with the Names of the 24 of that order written round about as they had their places neere the Kinge, whoe had his picture made where hee sate.

In the Cathedrall Church were sundrey Tombes and monuments of antient Kings, as of Lucius, the first Christian King of this Land, of William Rufus slayne in New forrest, under a plaine long gray marble stone; Alsoe of Queene Emma, wife to Kinge Canutoo, whoe ruled before the Conquest, also divers other Noblemen and prelates of old, whose bones were lately taken upp, and put into litle Ricks or Chests, and placed alofte about the Chancell[2]. From Basinstoake to Winchester is about 18 miles, in all which Trackte there were fewe or noe habitations att all; of the same nature with Salisbury plaine, serving only for sheepe.

Entertainment on Sir William Courteens designe.

I had not bin longe att home[3], but through want of my accustomed Imployment, waistinge of meanes and some other occasions, I resolved once againe for London, to seeke some Voyage or Course to passe away tyme and to provide somewhat for the future, which accordingly I performed, and arrived there about the end of November Anno 1635[4], where I found two good businesses on

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[1] Winchester Castle, of which only the great Hall now remains, was intact when Mundy saw it. King Arthur's Round Table, 17 ft. in diameter, still occupies the gable at the west end of the Hall. The Castle surrendered to Oliver Cromwell in 1645 and was subsequently demolished. See *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, IV. 9—12.

[2] The term rick (which never appears to have been used for a box) is probably an imitative word denoting the shape of the coffers. Four only, of the six mortuary chests now standing on the screens closing in the presbytery of Winchester Cathedral, were in existence in Mundy's time. These four were put up under Bishop Fox (1501—1508); the other two are copies made in 1661. See *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, V. 56.

[3] At Penryn, Cornwall. There is a marginal note here, "June 6th ✠." The date is probably that of Mundy's return to his native town in 1635.

[4] Here is a marginal note—"Nov: 30 arrived att London."

foote, one for India by the Company[1], the other a fleete settinge forth by Sir William Courteene, upon an unknowne designe[2], soe resolved on the latter, and in Conclusion I was entertayned on that imployment, which God prosper.

The Pleasure boate.

In the Interim, William Courteene Esqr., Sonne to Sir William[3], being to take his passage on a small Vessell called the *Pleasure boate*, of about 7 Tonns, downe to Woolwich, to visitt the Shipps and to see in what readynes they were, I was willed by Mr Bunnell[4] to goe downe alsoe in the same Boate, which if shee were not built for pleasure, yett I thinck it is one of her greatest imployment, fitted only for speedy saileinge and good accomodation of her passengers, most part of her beinge a great Cabbin, furnished with a Table, Carpett, Benches, Cusheons, Windowes to open and shutt, painted within and without, with two prettie litle brasse peeces on Carriages wherein Sir William and his friends often goe and disport themselves on the water from place to place. Her other great service, if not Cheifest, is to send advice etts. to Sir Williams shipps bound out or home, lyeing in the Downes or betwene London and Dover, of which I thinck that every moneth there is one shipp or other either goeing out or Comeing home.

Beinge well provided of meate and drinck for her

[1] At the end of 1635 the E. I. Co. dispatched the *Swan* to the Coromandel Coast, and the *Mary* and *Hart* were sent to Surat and Bantam respectively early in 1636. See Mr W. Foster's Introduction to *Court Minutes* (1635—1639), ed. E. B. Sainsbury, p. xix.

[2] The " unknowne designe " was the outcome of " the Convention of Goa which threw open the Indo-Portuguese marts to English trade. . . . A strong fleet was to be provided, which would sail first to Goa and then to Macao, and possibly to Japan." *Ibid.*, pp. xv.—xvi.

[3] For the Courteens, father and son, see *Biographia Britannica* (ed. 1789), vol. IV.

[4] Samuel Bonnell, to whom Sir William Courteen senior bequeathed an annuity of 50*l.* See Introduction to *Court Minutes* (1635—1639), p. xv. *f.n.*, and *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* (1633—1634), p. 74.

voyage, away wee went one Morninge, Mr William [Courteen], Captane Molton[1], Mr Samuell Bunnell, myselfe and others, with the Musick entertained to goe on the shipps on the voyage. And settinge saile off Billingsgate, away shee seemeingly flew downe the River of Thames, with a faire Wynde, Colours displayed, shooteing off our litle Gunns now and then, the Musick playinge all the way in a manner, sometymes the Lowd, as Consorts of Cornetts, as alsoe of Hautboys [oboes], sometymes againe on the still [soft] musick, as Vyolls, soe that, in my opinion, it would have animated the dullest spiritt to have forsaken all and followed the Sea, had hee but seene or heard us

Woolwich : The great ship on the Stocks.

Att Woolwich wee found the *Dragon*, *Sunne* and *Catherine*, of whome haveing bene aboard and entertayned, wee went all a shoare to see the great Shipp now on the Stocks a building in Woolwich Docke, where Mr Pett the younger, Cheife Carpenter or Artist, shewed and related unto the Esquire what hee desired to see and heere concerninge her, then carried him to his howse, where wee sawe the Moddell or Molde of the said shipp, which was shewne unto his Majestie before hee began her. The said Modell was of exquisite and admirable Workemanshipp, curiouslye painted and guilte with azur and gold, soe contrived that everye tymber in her might bee seene, left open and unplancked for that purpose, verye neate and delightsome. There were also the Modells of divers other shipps lately built, but nothinge comparable to the former. The great shipp itselfe, they say, wilbe ready to be lanched in Aprill Anno 1637, and supposed that shee wilbe the greatest and fairest that ever was water borne of English built. For my part I was astonished to see such a

[1] Captain Robert Molton appears again in *Relation* XXI.

prodigeous length and breadth, beinge 145 foote by the Keele and [1] att the beame. Likewise such a number of huge, massie, squared, solid tymbers were never seene before in one Vessell. And therefore I thincke (as before is said) shee is worthy to carrye the Flagg as Admirall of the Seas[2].

St Paules Church.

St Paules great Church challendginge the superioritie of all land buildings for its antiquitie, greatnesse, loftinesse and majestie, especially if the Steeple bee repaired as they are in hand with the Church[3], it appearing to sight amonge the rest of the Churches and Comon

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[1] Blank in MS.

[2] The *Sovereign of the Seas*, the first three-decker in the British Navy, carried 100 guns. In March 1635 Phineas Pett (1570—1647) was ordered to prepare a model of the ship, which was built by his fifth son Peter (1610—?1670) under his supervision. The vessel was launched in September 1637, but was not completed until 1638. On the 15th August she set sail "to ply it up for the Isle of Wight," and was said to steer "exceedingly yarely" and to carry "her lower tier well for a ship of three tier and a half." In 1652 she was cut down to a 100-gun two-decker. After the Restoration she was known as the *Royal Sovereign*. She was accidentally burnt in 1696 when being laid up at Chatham to be rebuilt. One of her guns is still in existence at the Rotunda at Woolwich. See Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, II. 5—7; *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, 1635 and 1636, *passim*; *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. II. 487, III. 36, 77. For Phineas Pett, see the article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[3] A marginal note adds: "St Paules Church. The Steeple when entire 520 Foot high, the Stone worck 260, the rest or spire of wood covered with lead 260, the length of the church 720 Foote, the breadth 130, the height of the Roofe of the Church 150 Foot—out of Stowes Survey of London." The passage is not an exact quotation. See Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. 1618, p. 615.

The steeple of St Paul's Cathedral was struck by lightning and destroyed on the 3rd June 1561. The roof of the nave was also damaged. The steeple was never rebuilt, but certain repairs were carried out. In the reign of James I. these were found to have been fraudulently executed and Inigo Jones was deputed to effect the restoration. In January 1632 Bishop Laud made a special appeal to the City to contribute to the cost of the work, and Mundy's former patron, Sir Paul Pindar, responded by subscribing 10,000*l.* The work of restoration was suspended by the Civil War in 1642, was recommenced after the Restoration and was continued up to the Great Fire of 1666. See Benham, *Old St Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 49—50, 66—67; and for measurements differing from those quoted from Stow, see p. 7.

buildings as a stately Eliphant with an Ambarree[1] or Indian pavillion on his backe doth in the midle of an Armie of horse and foote. Theis 2 wonderfull Structures, St Paules for the Land and our great new shipp for the Seas, I conceave are not to bee parralelled in the whole World.

The 4th Aprill Anno 1636. This day I was enordered by Sir William Courteene to goe downe in a Catch that carried some goods, provisions, etts. to the Shipps that were all in the Downes, but cheiflye with Mr Hill[2], our Master, etts., to accompany or convoy two truncks of plate and Presents. The plate, as I understand, is allowed by our Imployers for the service and accomodation of the Commanders and Merchants, to the valew of about 300 *li.* Sterlinge ; The Presents for Forraigne Countries to bee bestowed on Kings, Governours, etts., as occasion shall require.

Betwene the 4th and 14th came downe our Marchants and our dispatchers, with Mr Samuell Bonnell.

The *Ann Royall* cast away in the Thames.

In this interim alsoe happened a most unfortunate Accident[3], of which I have heere incerted somewhat, as reports went. The *Anne Royall*, one of the 4 shipps Royall, appoynted Vice-Admirall for this yeres Fleete, Mr White Master (one of the 4 Masters of England)[4] being aboard with his wife and daughter and many other Seamens wives takeing their leaves, shee beinge bound for the Downes, shee unhappilye tayled [ran aground stern

[1] *'Ambārī*, an elephant howdah with canopy.

[2] John Hill, master of the *Planter*. His death is recorded in *Relation* XXII.

[3] The accident occurred on the night of the 9th April 1636.

[4] Peter White, one of the four Masters Attendant of the Royal Navy.

foremost] on a banck on Tilbury side in the night, and as the Water fell away, shee began to fall over: most of the people asleepe[1]. The Master foreseeinge farther daunger, hastned his wife and daughter away, whoe being ashamed to bee seene halfe unreadye, delayed the tyme soe longe to putt on their apparrell, untill shee suddainely oversett, and many perished; amonge the rest the Masters wife and daughter aforesaid. But a Boateswaines Mate, not staying his wives leasure, tooke her upp in his Armes, would have leaped with her into the Boate, fell betwene it and the shipps side, where they both ended their loves and lives together. Here was Modestly [*sic*] and love evill recompensed by the Mercilesse Water.

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[1] White's explanation of the accident was that the ship "touched upon some bank and made a seele [a sudden heeling over]," and that "whilst they were loosing the foresail and topsail to run her to the north shore," she "suddenly overset to the larboard side." He was found culpable for leaving the ship unmoored, and was imprisoned. The *Ann Royal* was refloated in June 1636, but was found to be useless and was broken up. See *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, 1635—1636, *passim*; see also Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, II. 73—74.

RELATION XXI[1].

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE OF A FLEETE, CONSISTING OF FOURE SHIPPES AND TWO PINNACES, SETT FORTH BY THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL SIR WILLIAM COURTEENE, KNIGHT, THE DESIGNE FOR INDIA, CHINA, JAPAN, ETTS: ON A NEW DISCOVERY OF TRAFFICQUE IN THOSE PARTES[2]: DEVIDED INTO SUNHRY [*SIC*] RELATIONES, FOLLOWING THE NUMBER AFOREGOING IN THIS BOOKE.

His Majesty of Great Brittaine, Taking into Consideration thatt this Action tended to the Future good of the Common Wealth, Hath outt of his Princely favour bin pleased to Countenance, Farther, and protect the same against all opposers, who were not a few (and those not of the Meanest), Giving therto most large Commissions, Licence to Wear the Union Flagge, proper only to the Navy Royall, appointing allso a ritche Seale

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[1] Facing this *Relation* is a double-page printed map of Asia by Hondius, dated 1631, with the route of the fleet marked in red.

The full headline in the MS. is "Voyage to China Outwards From England unto Goa in East India."

[2] The MS. *Journall Conteyning the memorable passages in the voyage, &c.* (preserved at the Public Record Office, *State Papers, Dom. Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30, noted in the Preface among the contemporary accounts of Weddell's voyage to India and China) amplifies and elucidates Mundy's narrative. Minor details from this document are given as footnotes and important additions incorporated in the text in smaller type. To avoid using the cumbrous title of the MS., I have adopted that used in *Factory Records* by Mr Foster, *i.e.*, "The Voyage of Weddell's Fleet."

of armes For this Imployment[1], *viz.*, a Lyon passant gardant beetweene 3 Imperiall Crownes, as per the Figure therof here annexed.

Our Fleete Consisted of 4 shippes and 2 pinnaces as abovesaid, *Viz*:

The *Dragon*, Admirall [chief ship], Captain John Weddell[2] Commander of her as allso of the whole Fleete; Mr Nathaniell Mountney, Cape Merchant in the same

No. 1. A Seale of Armes.

kind; his Brother, Mr John Mountney[3], Accomptant; with others. Captain Robertt Molten[4] went outt allsoe on the *Dragon*.

The *Sunne*, Viz Admirall, Captain Richard Swanly,

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[1] See Appendix A, Nos. 1 and 2, for copies of these documents.

[2] Captain John Weddell (1583— ? 1639) was already known to Mundy (see vol. II. pp. 21, 303). There is a notice of him in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Further details of his life and supposed end are given in Appendix B.

[3] Nathaniel and John, sons of Richard Mountney, had both previously served the East India Company. For a notice of the family see Appendix B.

[4] If Captain Robert Molton of Courteen's Expedition is the same individual as "Mr Robert Moulton" of the *Margett*, which sailed from San Sebastian for England in 1625, then he and Mundy were old acquaintances. See vol. I. p. 141. Captain Molton does not appear to have been either in the King's or E. I. Co.'s service. He returned to England in the *Planter* in April 1637, having disagreed with the other members of the expedition. In 1641 he gave evidence in London regarding Captain Weddell's supposed death. He is probably identical with the Robert Molton of Instowe, mariner, part owner of the *Phœnix* barque, whose will was proved in October 1651. See *P.C.C. Wills*, 191 *Grey*. The remark about Molton is given as a marginal note in the MS.

Comander; Mr Thomas Robinson and Mr Anthony Varneworthy, Merchantts, with others[1].

The *Catherine*, Rere Admirall, Captain John Carter[2], Commaunder; Mr Edward Knipe[3] and Mr William Baron[4], Merchantts.

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[1] Captain Richard Swanley, Thomas Robinson and Anthony Vernworthy were all late servants of the E. I. Co.

Captain Richard Swanley was already well known to Mundy (see vol. II. p. 2 *footnote*) and had previously sailed with Captain Weddell. He seems to be identical with the Richard Swanley noticed in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* who afterwards entered the Royal Navy and died in 1650. There was another Captain Richard Swanley also in the Company's service from *c.* 1617, but he was killed (when master of the *Lion*) in a fight with the Portuguese in October 1625. I am indebted to Mr William Foster for disentangling these two captains.

Thomas Robinson's chequered career merits a detailed notice, and an account of him is given in Appendix B.

Anthony Vernworthy was a factor in the E. I. Co.'s service from 1624 to 1632 and had been employed in Batavia, Macassar and Bantam. There was some demur at the time of his election, in February 1624, about his "soundness in religion," as he had served a Spaniard and had spent several years in Mexico. But the Court, on being assured "that now he is a diligent frequenter of the church" and "hath taken the oath of supremacy," was satisfied regarding his orthodoxy. On his return to England, in 1632, Vernworthy was accused of amassing a fortune by private trade and of tampering with the estate of Henry Short, a deceased servant of the Company. In defence, he contended that he had saved the Company "by his care and good husbandry" more than the value of his estate, and the Court "understanding he is an able man," let him off with a fine of 200*l.* On the 19th February 1636 Vernworthy was "nominated as factor for Bantam," but he evidently found the Courteen venture more attractive. His death at Bhatkal is narrated by Mundy later in this volume. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.* 1624—1634; *Court Minutes*, 1635.

[2] Captain John Carter was also an old servant of the E. I. Co. Mundy states (*Relation* XXIV.) that he was master of the *Unicorn* in 1620. From 1624—1632 he was respectively master's mate of the *Star*, master of the *Swallow*, and pilot of the *Falcon*, returning to England as a passenger in the *Palsgrave* in 1632. He was lost in the *Catherine* on her homeward voyage in 1639. In his will, dated 7th March 1635—6, John Carter describes himself as "of Ratcliffe, co. Middlesex, mariner, now bound forth on a voyage to parts beyond the seas." His goods, money, shipping, etc., were bequeathed to his wife Lettice, to whom probate was granted on the 8th November 1641. See *Col. State Papers, E. I.*; Foster, *English Factories*; *P.C.C. Wills*, 133 *Evelyn*.

[3] For Edward Knipe's services under the E. I. Co. and Mundy's previous association with him, see vol. II. p. 265, and for a further account see this vol., Appendix B.

[4] William Baron was probably related to Benjamin Baron, citizen and grocer of London and "free brother" of the E. I. Co., but I have found no actual proof, or any reason to identify him with William, second son of William Baron of Worcester, clothier, who is the only William Baron that I have unearthed at this period. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*; *P.C.C. Wills*, 84 *Hele* and 67 *Goare*.

The *Planter*, 4th shippe, Captain Edward Hall[1], Commaunder, Peter Mundy and John Fortune[2], Merchantts.

The *Anne*, Pinnace, Mr Martin Milward[3], Master, and Mr Henry Glascocke[4], Merchant.

The *Discovery*, Pinnace, Mr —— Richardson,[5] Master.

Captaine Robert Molten came allso in our Fleete,
And Mr John Villers[6], brother to my Lord Grandison

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[1] Edward Hall, also a late servant of the E. I. Co., was mate of the *Star* in her voyage to Madras in 1631 and came back to England as master's mate in the *Royal James* in 1633. In 1634 he was master's mate of the *Jonas* and served under Weddell in the homeward voyage from India in 1635. He was recommended by Captain Slade as master of the *Mary* in January 1636, but declined "on account of late troubles befallen him;" he subsequently joined Courteen's Association. He appears to have died in 1640, for on the 31st July administration of the goods of "Edward Hall, bachelor, late of parts abroad," was granted to his sisters, Frances Gosse and Deborah Hall. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.; Factory Records; Court Minutes; P.C.C. Admons.*

[2] John Fortune was one of the few among Courteen's servants who had not had previous experience under the E. I. Co. His appointment as Chief at Bhatkal and his tragic end are related by Mundy later in this volume.

[3] I have been unable to trace any relationship between Martin Milward and either John Milward, E. I. Co.'s servant poisoned at Achin in 1617, or John Milward, also in the Company's service at Bantam, whose will was proved in 1639, though doubtless there was some connection. His ship, the *Anne*, was sold at Macao as related by Mundy later in the volume, and Milward seems to have been transferred to either the *Dragon* or the *Catherine* and to have been lost at sea with them in 1639. His goods were administered on the 14th August 1641 by his widow Dorothy Milward. See *Cal. State Papers, E.I.*, 1617—1621; *P.C.C. Wills*, 147 *Harvey; Admons.*

[4] See vol. II. p. 69 *n.* for Henry Glascock's previous relations with Mundy and his service under the E. I. Co. The Glascocks were well represented in Essex in the 17th century. Henry appears to have been the fifth son of Philip Glascock of Hatfield Broadoak and nephew and godson of Andrew Glascock of Barking, an "Adventurer" in the E. I. Co., who died in 1621. Sec. *P.C.C. Wills*, 102 *Dale.*

[5] The *Discovery*, as appears later, did not reach India. In Mundy's Notes to this volume he narrates her capture on her homeward voyage, but he does not give the Christian name of her commander, nor have I found any mention of him elsewhere.

[6] John Villiers, second son of the first Viscount Grandison, was brother of the second Lord Grandison who died in 1634 and nephew ("brothers sonne") of George First Duke of Buckingham, murdered in 1628. The second Duke of Buckingham (1628—1687) and John Villiers were cousins, their fathers being half-brothers. There is no further mention in the MS. of this early globe-trotter. He died without issue *c.* 1662. Mundy's spelling of the name shows that the modern pronunciation is also the early one.

and brothers sonne to the Duke of Buckinghams Father: the last for pleasure[1].

The 14th Aprill Anno 1636. Our whole Fleete sett saile from the Downes about 3 of the Clocke in the afternoone. The *Royall Mary*[2] bound For India wayed some 4 howres before us[3], Soe thatt when wee came aboutt the South Foreland opening of Dover roade, shee was run outt of sightt.

The 17th [*April* 1636] *beeing Easter Day*. Our shippes then beetweene Portland and the Starte, Our Admirall advaunced our Kings Coullours on his Maine toppe, The Vice Admirall on her Foretoppe, The Rereadmirall on her Mizzen, And Wee in the *Planter* att our boltspritts end[4]. The ceremony was solemnized with the report of Ordnance—From the Admirall 7, the Viceadmirall 5, Rere Admirall 3, From us 3, From every one some; there beeing a smalle vessell in our company bound with passengers to Serinam (an Iland in the West Indies to the Westward of St Christophers[5]), who would willingly have had our Company a while, butt by reason shee could not hold us way [keep up with us], wee left her[6].

[*The 30th April* 1636.] The last of this month wee

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[1] This paragraph is given as a marginal note in the original.

[2] See vol. II. p. 313 *n*. for the voyages of the *Mary* and for Mundy's return in her from Surat in 1634.

[3] According to the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom. Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30), the ships "lingred a while" off Dover to put on shore Thomas Kynnaston and Samuel Bonnell and "in expectation of certaine provisions from Sandwich" which did not arrive.

[4] In the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* it is stated that this ceremony was performed "after the sermon ended."

[5] Mundy's geography is at fault. Surinam, now known as Dutch Guiana (on the mainland of the north of South America), was a thriving centre of English trade at this period.

[6] On the 18th April the writers of the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* record that a French vessel "neglecting his dutie to the King's flagg, was taught better manners by a shott or two bestowed upon him." On the 21st the fleet fell in with another small French vessel bound to England with "divers English" on board, redeemed from captivity at Salee in Barbary by "the factors of Sir William Courteene there residinge." By "these English" a letter was sent to Courteen.

saw the Iland of Lansarote[1] (one of the Canary Iles) some 8 leagues offe; high, Montaynous and Ragged land. This nightt Wee lost the rest of our Fleete very straungely by following the *Catherine*, Neither shee nor wee observing our Direct order[2].

Here followeth an abstract of the Seamans [*sic*] observation taken from their Notes[3].

Abstracte of parte of Aprill 1636.

14. Wee sett saile and came to anchor off of foulestone[4].
15. Sett saile againe and came thwart of Dungeonesse.
16. Dunnose[5] in the Ile of Wight NNE.
17. Portland 8 leagues off NE.
18. Dudman[6] and the Lizard in sightt.
19. The Lizard in sightt in the Morning. Longitude from the Lizard.
30. Wee saw Lansarote one of the Canaries.
Sayled in part of this Month the some of Miles 1860.

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[1] Lanzarote, the most easterly of the group of Canary Islands. Mundy had already sighted this Island in April 1628. See vol. II. p. 5.

[2] In the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30) the occurrence is thus explained: "The *Katherine* and *Planter* mistaking the light as it seemed, tacked about and so lost Company, to our great discontent, which caused us for the better part of the next daie to lie still with our sailes brailed upp [furled], supposing they had beene a sterne and would have followed us; but it fell out otherwise."

[3] As in the previous volume, the tabular log supplied by Mundy has been omitted. See vol. II, note on p. 5.

[4] Although the original Saxon name of Folkestone appears to have been Folcstane or Folcestane, Mundy is following the accepted spelling of his time. Colonel J. A. Temple has supplied me with instances in 1584, 1673, 1676, 1680 and 1691 of "Foulstone and Foulston." The spelling on the old seal of the Mayoralty (*temp.* Henry VIII.) is, however, Folcestaine.

[5] Dunnose, a point at the south-east of the Isle of Wight, immediately to the north of Bonchurch.

[6] Dodman Point, at the western extremity of St Austell Bay, Cornwall.

From London to Lancerote, one of the Canary Ilands, I have sett Downe Miles 1860, beeing soe Much by the Mappe, *Poco mas o menos* [Sp. A little more or less].

	1860
From London to the Downes deducted	90
	1770 [miles]

The 1st May 1636. In the Morning Wee had sightt of Fuerteventura[1], aboutt 10 leagues offe, and supposing wee should not bee able to wether Lansarote, wee bore upp and steered away E. beetweene itt and Fuerteventura, where wee passed through a little straight to the Southward of a small Iland called el Lobo, or the Wolffe[2] and there wee had once butt 5 Fathom water, then 7, then againe 5, then 8, 9, and a little after no ground in 20 Fathom.

I know not whatt some particuler plotts or Vallies may produce in those Ilands of Lansarote and fuerteventura, butt forasmuch as Wee could see of it, The land was very ragged and barren, Not a tree, bush, or any greene thing to bee seene (Allthough it Were now high spring tyme) ; Neither was there town, village or house, Man or beast to bee Discerned, Wee passing beetweene both and very Near unto Lansarote[3].

The 3d [*May* 1636]. In the Morning wee Descried a fleete of 26 saile[4], and comming nearer, wee made them

[1] The island to the south of Lanzarote ; Mundy had previously sighted it in April 1628.

[2] They appear to have sailed through Bocayna Strait which separates Lanzarote from Fuerteventura and to have passed between Lobos Island and the mainland.

[3] The *Mary* had sighted Lanzarote on the 27th April. Her Log (*Marine Records*, vol. LXII.) describes it as "rising reasonable high and ragged, piky, full of hummocks or hillocks." Jean de Bethencourt, however, who established himself in the Canaries more than two centuries earlier (in 1402) and explored both Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, found the former "an excellent and charming island" inaccessible only on its western side, and the latter "varied by plains and mountains," both islands having "villages in great number." *The Canarian*, ed. Major, Hak. Soc., pp. 133—139.

[4] The Spanish fleet bound for La Plata. See the "Abstracte" of May, *infra*.

to bee Spanish galleones, and by their course Wee conceaved they were bound For the West Indies, soe fearing Wee should gett noe good by them if Wee came among them, wee lay short[1] and kept the wind of them som 3 or 4 Miles Distance. They steered on their Course, only some staid for us and wee made towards them, butt nightt comming on, Wee stood away our owne course allsoe.

The 8th [*May* 1636]. Att Nightt our only Consort the *Catherine*, having kept us company hitherto since wee lost our Fleete, finding by her sayling how much shee lost by staying For us, thincking belike wee mightt bee a great hindraunce unto her fetching uppe of the Fleete, uppon the sodaine shee sett all the sailes shee could make, and withoutt bidding us farewell left us all alone to try for our Selves, soe thatt Next Morning Wee could Not see her from Our Mayne topmast head. Whither shee went for the Ile of May[2] or noe wee could not tell, for such a proposition there was, allthough not Determined off.

Great Tortoises : A sucking fishe.

The 9th, 10th and 11th [*May* 1636]. Wee saw many Tortoises, and with our skiffe tooke 3 of them. The least Mightt bee aboutt ¾ C waight [hundredweight]. They are like the land tortoises, having Fynnes in liew of Feete, and billed like a Hawke ; very good meat.[3] Uppon one of them wee tooke the biggest sucking fish thatt I have yett seene, beeing Neare 14 Inches long, coullored like a Conger. There are commonly smalle ones found on sharkes backes with their bellies upward, as in the figure No. 1 underneath, having on their heads

[1] For a note on this expression, see *Relation* XXIX. p. 364.

[2] Maio, one of the Cape Verde Islands.

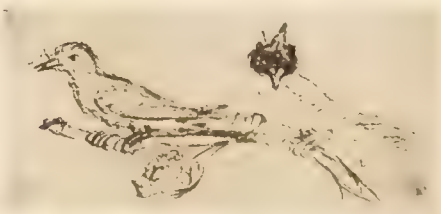
[3] The Hawkbill Turtle, *Chelone imbricata*. It is not usually eaten but is valuable for its shell. Mundy has further remarks on "haukes-billed tortoises" in *Relation* XXXVI.

No. 2. A Suckinge Fishe.

No. 3. Strange Sea Snailes.

No. 7. A straunge Fowle [at Goa].

No. 8. A bird with a very long slender taile.



No. 5. A straunge Fowle.

as it wear the rooffe of a Dogges Mouth, as No. 2[1], with which they will cling and hold fast to any thing they meet withall, Soe thatt withoutt much violence they will not leave their hold. They are sometymes taken with hookes and lines, when if they can butt fasten on a rocke, the shippe side, etts., they will soe cleave too thatt they endaunger breaking the hooke or lyne[2].

Strange Sea Snailes, termed Carvells[3].

The 18th May [1636]. Wee saw a great many shell fish, or sea snailes, like those on the land, having att the mouth off the shell a lump of white tough Froth like Jelly, by which it swymmeth or floateth. Pricking one of them, it distilled some Dropps of a perfit orientall azure, soe opened Divers of them and found thatt aboutt the head it yeilded that coullored licor, as allsoe purple, tawny etts., very lively and shyning. Whither this bee any kind of thatt shell fish called Murex (mentioned in Histories, outt of whome they Drew that pretious purple soe much esteemed of by the antients), I know not. The biggenesse and forme thereof I have hereunder sett[4].

I writt with the licor and it reteyned his coullour. It is likely that the said spungy Froth consumes at a certaine tyme and then they sinck to the bottome, when at a Convenient Season it encreases againe and supportts itt[5].

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[1] See Illustration No. 2 (figures 1 and 2) and see vol. II. p. 16, for an earlier illustration of these fishes.

[2] Mundy is describing the *Echeneis remora* or Sucking-fish, with the curious disc or shield upon the upper surface of the head and shoulders, by which it adheres to smooth surfaces.

[3] The term Carvel is applied to (1) the Paper Nautilus, (2) the Jelly-fish, (3) the Floating Mollusc. It is to the last of these, the *Ianthina*, that the text refers.

[4] See Illustration, No. 3.

[5] Mr. W. L. Sclater informs me that the *Ianthina*, which Mundy is describing, is a pelagic Gastropod or Sea Snail, which floats on the surface, chiefly in tropical regions. It has a float composed of a series

[On a separate piece of paper, just beneath the illustration, Mundy has made the following note.]

Outt of Riders Dictionary, printed 1617, thus, among the names of Fishes—A purple Fish, a shell Fish, the licor whereof maketh purple or violett, Conchile conchilium : n. purpura pelagia Murex : The upper part of the fish purple Tracali[1]. Penrin, February 1649.

The 23d Ditto [*May* 1637]. Wee accidentally and happily Mett with our Fleete againe, *viz.* Admirall, Vizadmirall, the 2 Pinnaces and 2 Dutch shippes[2] in their Company, Soe thatt wee now only wanted the *Catherine*. Our shippes in the Morning espying the 2 Hollanders abovesaid, Imagining them to bee us and the *Catherine*, steered westward after them, and by thatt Meanes came rightt in our Way : otherwise wee had Missed them.

A great gust.

Wee had this Day a very violent gust before wee Mett, which wee prevented [anticipated] in tyme. Butt our Viceadmirall by the said gust or Perry[3] had her Maine topmast blowne by the board[4] with the head of her Mayne, and lost allsoe a man which Fell into the

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of air bubbles formed from the animal's foot. Underneath the float are placed the eggs. The shell is fragile and purple in colour. It has nothing to do with the classical *Murex* which yielded the purple dye. See Cooke, *Cambridge Natural History, Mollusca*, pp. 126, 411.

[1] John Rider or Ryder, 1562—1632, lexicographer and Bishop of Killaloe, was author of the *Bibliotheca Scholastica*, published in 1589. The work was recast and edited by Francis Holyoake in 1617, and there were subsequent reissues in 1626, 1633 and 1640. The extract quoted by Mundy is found in the section entitled "Certaine Generall heads of Birds, colours, &c.," under the heading "Pisces—Pastinaca." Mundy's rendering is not quite accurate. The passage in the original runs as follows :—"Pastinaca : A purple Fish, a shell fish, the licour whereof maketh purple or violet, Conchyle, conchylium, n. purpura, pelagia, Murex, f. The upper part of the fish purple. Trachali."

[2] In the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* these ships are said to be "of Amsterdam, bound for Brasill."

[3] Perry, a variant of pirrie, an obsolete term for a sudden squall, "half a gale" of wind.

[4] Blown close to the ship's deck.

Sea[1] with the topmast and much off the Rigging. The Pinnace *Discovery* lost allso her Mayne topmast. Soe here wee had as well cause to bee sorry for their Mishappes as to bee glad for to [*sic*] our fortunat finding them. Immediately all the Carpenters in the fleete were sent aboard to helpe make all good againe, which they Did in a Matter of a Sevenights tyme, as well as the place would affoard. Wee in the Meane tyme lost Much of our way, bearing little sayle. They told us they wethered Lancarote and passed beetweene it and the gran Canaries[2].

Abstracte of the aforegoing Month of May, 1636.

1. Wee lost our Fleete. Wee bore uppe aboutt 10 Clock at Night.
3. Wee saw the Plate Fleet bound For West India.
8. Att 8 att night the *Catherine* went from us
23. A great gust or Perry of Winde. Wee mett our Fleete againe.
25. Windes variable round about the compass.

Sayled this Month of May the some of Miles...1678.

From the 10th untill the end of this Month is or may bee accompted Tronados: whatt they are is Described in Fol: 24: 115[3].

June Anno 1636.

The 4th Currantt. Wee left the Pinnace *Discovery* beehind beecause shee could not hold way with us,

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[1] We learn from the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas.* I., CCCLI. No. 30) that this was the "Trumpeters mate, who being involved in the Topsaile, was drowned." The remaining 12 men "who were in the shrouds" were "all saved by Gods mercie." In Weddell's personal *Account of the Voyage of Courteen's Fleet* (*O.C.* 1662) he says that these twelve "were sorely hurt" and that the "gust lasted not above an howre."

[2] This means that they weathered Lanzarote and afterwards sailed through the strait between Gran Canaria and Fuerteventura.

[3] See vol. II. pp. 6, 15, for Mundy's remarks on tornados in the voyage of 1628, and *infra*, p. 30 for a further description.

withoutt bidding her farewell, The tyme of the [year] Farre spentt and att present much straightned For the gayning our port, so could not stay For her; Neither doe I thincke shee can or will Follow us much Farther, but returne homeward Forthwith[1].

The 17th [June 1636]. Wee saw a saile and made accompt it had bin the *Catherine*, butt it prooved otherwise, For shee made away From us.

The 20th [June 1636]. Wee left allsoe the Pinnace *Anne* to follow us[2], having Instructiones given her whatt to Doe and where shee shold Meete with us.

From the 10th May unto the 6th currant, we accompted our selves to bee in the Tronados, it beeing extraordinary variable weather, as Calmes, sodaine and violent gusts, the wind on all points of the Compasse in 24 howeres; much raine, thunder and lightning[3]. Shippes beeing usually 3 Weekes or a Month ere they can gett clear of itt; att leastwise it hath bin soe when I have com this way, it beeing now the second tyme.

Abstract of the abovesaid Month of June Anno 1636.

2. A saile seene, butt could not speak with her.
4. Wee left the Pinnace *Discovery* beehind.
9. The *Dragon* gave the *Anne* a tow.
12. Crossed the Eaquator. S. lattitude from hence.
17. A saile seene, butt could not com nere her.

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[1] In the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30) it is stated that the *Discovery* was "a great hindrance unto us by reason shee was both very leeward and sluggish of saile," and "endangered the losse of our munsoon." She was therefore provided with "all necessaries" and ordered to touch at "Augustine Bay or the Iles of Comoro." Her fate on her homeward voyage is related by Mundy in his Appendix to this volume.

[2] This was on the 19th, according to the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet*. The *Anne*, like the *Discovery*, being unable to "hold waie" with the fleet, her "royalls" (Spanish dollars) were taken out and replaced by "victualls and provision of every sort" for five months, and she was then left "to pursue her voyage."

[3] In the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet*, the writers say that they were "continually becalmed" from the 23rd May to the 4th June, but they mention no hurricanes.

17—21. From the Lattitude of 8 Degrees N. untill wee came into 6 Degrees S. Wee found a currant to sett SSE 2 or 3 leagues in 24 houres.

Sayled in this Month of June the some of Miles...1879.

July Anno 1636.

The 26th of this Month. Wee had sightt of Cape Bona Esperansa [Good Hope] aboutt 8 leagues off. Nothing elce worth Notice[1] butt whatt may bee Found in the Following Abstracte.

Abstract of the Month of July Anno 1636.

14. Crost the Meridian of the Lizard.
15. From hence East longitude.
26. Sightt of Cape Bona Esperansa. Easterly longitude from thence.
27. Cape de Agullas [Agulhas] aboutt 10 leagues off.
29. Sounded and had 65 Fathom.
30. Land seene aboutt 10 leagues offe.

Our Shippe hath ran this Month the some of Miles...3177.

August 1636.

The 12th Currantt. Wee lay a Try and a Hull 2 watches and under our 2 Corses[2] 4 watches, beeing very much Winde and Foule weather.[3]

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[1] The *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30), however, records "a sore gale of winde with a swolne sea" on the 8th July. The *Dragon's* cabin was swamped and the *Sun's* "greate Cabbin also," but "no farther harme" ensued.

[2] A-try, nautical expression, used of a ship in a gale kept by a judicious balance with her bows to the wind.

A-hull. To strike hull in a storm, is to take in her sails and lash the helm on the lee side of the ship, which is termed "to lie a-hull." Smyth, *Sailor's Wordbook, s.v.* Hull.

Mr. G. T. Temple, author of the *Admiralty Pilots for Norway*, informs me that Mundy's "two corses" indicate the two large sails of the old East Indiamen, while in a modern three-masted square-rigged ship the two courses are the sails on the fore and main yards.

[3] The *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* records the death, on the 16th August, of "one of the musitians aboard the *Dragon*, being the first man they lost in the voyage."

On the same day the fleet was reckoned to be about 40 leagues from Madagascar, where it had been intended to put in "to refreshe," but "fearing the losse of the Munsoone, were forced to pretend a kinde of mistake of the place for the satisfaction of our sicke men."

A Carricke[1] spoken withall.

The 19th [*August* 1636]. Wee saw a saile, had sightt of her the next Day and the 3d our Admirall sent the barge aboard her[2]. Shee was a Carrick Com from Lisbona, bound For India. Shee had in her 800 passengers with the Archbishopp of India elect[3], and had not toutched att any place since her comming From Portugall, Nor would not untill her arrivall at Goa[4].

The 23d [*August* 1636]. Wee parted with the said Carricke, shee intending to keep on and wee to putt into Johanna to reffresh our men.

From the 23d to the 26th of this Month Wee found a Currant that sett to the NNW aboutt 17 or 18 leagues in 24 howers.

Anchored at the Iland of Johanna[5].

The 27th [*August* 1636]. Att 12 Clocke att Nightt Wee came to Anchor att Johanna in the bay on the North side, aboutt a Mile off of the queenes towne.[6]

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[1] Carrack, carrick (O.F. *carraque*, Sp. and Port. *carraca*), a term applied in the 16th and 17th centuries to large Portuguese ships of burden, also fitted for warfare.

[2] The *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* is very full on this encounter with the Portuguese vessel. Thomas Robinson, merchant, was deputed from the *Sun* to take a letter on board, and at his request the captain of the carrack " altred their course to stand with our fleet." Salutes were then exchanged and " Conserves " sent to the " Admirall," who presented the Archbishop with " butter, sack, cheese, &c." From this " Carracke, to our greife, we understood that the Conde de Lynharas [Linhares], the old viceroy, was gone for Portugall, and by them we sent a letter to his successor, Don Pedro de Silva."

[3] Dom Fr. Francisco dos Martyres. He took charge of the diocese on the 21st October 1636 and died at Goa on the 25th November 1652. For his predecessors, see Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, p. 72.

[4] Weddell, in his own account of the voyage (*O.C.* 1662) says that the " Carrick . . . was not minded to touch anie where, although shee had loste 120 men in their passadge, and manie sick."

[5] Anjuan or Johanna, the second in size of the Comoro Islands. In 1628 Mundy had landed at Mohilla, another of these islands.

[6] See *infra*, where Mundy calls this place " Chamoodo."

The *Royall Mary*: An unfortunate accident.

Here wee found riding the *Royall Mary* who had sett saile some 4 hours before us From the Downes. Shee had toutched att Cunny Iland[1] by the Cape, as allsoe att Augustine bay on Stt Lawrence[2]. Their Worthy Commaunder Captain James Slade Died in the Tronados nere the lyne and was buried in the Sea[3]. The shippe riding betweene Cunny Iland and the Maine, aboutt 15 leagues to the Northward of Cape Bon esperansa, their boats Comming From the said Iland and almost aboard, there came soe Much wind on the sodaine thatt they could not fetch the shippe, Neither could they in the shippe helpe them, having veared 3 or 400 Fathom of Hawser with booies [buoys] to them. Butt all would not avail, For they Drove still. Soe they [in the ship] Made accompt they Would returne to the Iland againe. The next morning they sent From the shippe, butt found no signe of them, Neither on the Iland Nor all thereabouts, allthough they used all possible Dilligence. There were in the said boate one Mr [blank] Price[4], their Cheiffe merchant, a Pursers Mate, a boteswaines Mate and about a dozen More of their ablest Men. The boate is supposed to have struck against some rocke and soe swalled [to have been swallowed] in the sea Men and

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[1] Coney, now known as Dassen, Island, 35 miles north of Cape Town.

[2] St Augustine's Bay on the south-west of Madagascar. In the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*loc. cit.* p. 31, *n.*) it is stated that the *Mary* had "bene at Augustine Bay and refreshed there, but could tell us no newes of our *Katharine*, *Anne* or *Discovery*."

[3] Captain Slade died on the 2nd June of "a strong burning feavour" after ten days' illness. He was buried on the following day with a salute of fifteen guns and three volleys of small shot. See *English Factories*, 1634—1636, p. 305. In his final Appendix to his *MS.* Mundy notes the remarriage of James Slade's widow.

[4] William Price was elected factor on the 15th January 1636 for seven years, "he promising to abstain from private trade beyond the allotted allowance." Sainsbury, *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639, p. 143.

all. One Mr Bayly[1] now supplies the place of the Commaunder in the said shippe.

A Designe for the Red Sea : An ill beginning therof.

Yett a little more by the way. You are to understand that in Aprill 1635 One Mr Richard Ovill[2] in the *Samaritaine* and Mr Eyres[3] in the *Roebucke* sett forth by Private Men on some secret Designe. Wee heard here how thatt they lost one another att sea. The *Roebuck* saved her Monsone[4] and proceeded to the Red Sea, where they mett with a ritch Prize and with her returned to Mallala[5], an Iland 16 leagues hence. In the meane tyme the *Samaritan* was arrived at the said place, and anchoring in Foule ground, Fretted her Cables, Drove ashoare and was Cast away. Captain Ovill and most of his Men Died soone after of Sicknesse. The *Roebuck* comming as abovesaid. tooke in the rest of the Men, Ordnance and whatt elce was worth the saving out of the broken shippe. On the back of this comes in thither the *Swanne*, Master John Proud[6], beelonguing to the East India Company. Hee takes From the *Roebucke*, Will they Nill they, aboutt 9 000 *ls.* sterling in Coine, with 2 of their Men, goes For Suratt, where they say the President and Merchants are in trouble beecause the Juncke beelongued to thatt place. Some of this Was knowen by letters found here by the *Mary ;*

[1] William Bayley had been appointed master of the *Mary* on the 10th February 1636. He brought the ship home in 1640 and was subsequently master of the *Reformation* and commander of the *Crispian* and *William*.

[2] Richard Ofield or Oldfield.

[3] William Ayres.

[4] Favourable season for sailing. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxx. pp. 393—395, for examples of the various senses of the term "monsoon."

[5] Mohilla or Molala, the smallest of the Comoro Islands.

[6] John Proud, who came home with Captain Weddell as master of the *Jonas* in 1635, was chosen (on Weddell's recommendation) master of the *Swan* in September of that year. Sainsbury, *Court Minutes*, 1635—1639, p. 93.

the rest by relation of the Country people. The *Roebucke* after this came to Johanna, there sheathed, and then returned to the Red Sea againe to seeke satisfaction of her former losses; butt it is thoughtt the Companies shippes will way lay her, who goe seeking out for her[1].

The Last of this Month the *Mary* sett saile from hence bound for Suratt, butt it is conceaved shee will first to the Mouth of the Red Sea for the purpose aforementioned[2].

I am perswaded thatt from some one place hereaboutts may bee seene at once these 4 Ilands, *viz.* Mayotas, Mohilla or Malala, Johanna and Comoro (commonly called the Iles of Comoro), for wee saw three of them from hence, the 4th beeing shutt in by another.

Abstracte of the aforegoing Month of August 1636.

12. Much wind, raine, thunder and lightning.
15. These 2 Daies a great currantt setting NNE.
16. This Nightt wee lay a Try.
19. Wee saw a saile.
21. Wee made the said Saile to bee a Carricke.
23. Wee parted with the said Carricke.

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[1] For a full account of the piratical venture of the *Samaritan* and the *Roebuck* (countenanced by Charles I.) and its disastrous consequences to the English at Surat, see Foster, *English Factories*, 1634—1636, pp. xix—xxix.

There are also details of the end of the design in the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet*, the writers of which considered it to be a great oversight on Captain Proud's part to have allowed the *Roebuck* to escape, for "if he had authoritie to seize the stolne treasure, might also have destroyed the Pyrates." They add—"Howsoever it fall out, we are certainlie lost in anie designe to the Norward, for it will be impossible for us to land anie goods or mainteine anie traffige [*sic*] in the Mogulls Dominions without seizure both of our persons and estates, so that our intent of sending home large quantities of indicoes, &c. this yeare will we feare be wholie frustrate and what other troubles in other parts maie ensue is uncertaine, though much to be doubted."

[2] By the *Mary* was sent "a Coppie of his Majesties letter to the English President at Surrat, as likewise a few lines to Condole his disaster and to vindicate our selves from being anie waie allide to that or the like actions." See *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* and *O.C.* 1571.

25. These 3 Daies a greatt Currant to the NW.
26. Mayotas and Johanna seene 10 leagues offe.
27. Malala and Comoro seene. Anchored at Johanna.

Sayled in these 27 Daies of the Month of Augustt the some of Miles.....2159.

Extract from the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30)

Limitation of Private Trade.

26 *September* 1636. A Consultation was called aboard the *Dragon*, wherein amongst other matters an order was concluded for the limitation of private trade and the prevention of sundrie abuses, it haveing latelie come to our knowledge that Captaine Robert Moulten had pretended title and interest to above 20 Tuns of Cordage, Lead, Iron, shott, tarr, tempred stuff, &c., in that one shipp alone, besides greate quantities in the other shipps, which grosse abuse to the imployers caused much amazement amongst us all. The Purser [Christopher] Parr likewise made claime to 10 piggs of lead &c. so that a prohibition was published for the Landinge of anie Comodities except the Companies.

Of Johanna Iland.

The Iland of Johanna May bee aboutt 24 leagues in circuit[1], very high land, all though the highest toppes of all are very greene and overgrowne with trees and bushes, occasioned by the Moisture of cloudes, Mists and Fogges which Frequently hang over and about them, which is allsoe the Cause of soe many little rivers and brookes thatt Discend From thence roundabout the Iland. It may have aboutt 40 smalle townes, wherof 2 wee saw, which wee call the Kings towne and the

[1] The island is 30 miles long and 20 at its greatest breadth.

queenes towne[1], by them named Villanee and Chamoodo[2], built by Arabian Mahometanes[3] aboutt such tyme as the Portugalls came first to India. The walles of their houses yett remayne, very substantiall and Firme, of lyme and stone[4]; streets very narrow. Thatt generation beeing Dead and their offspring fallen to poverty, all is gon to ruine, these now making use of the old walles; none to bee seene new built. Butt those new houses they now make are of the leaves of the Coconutt tree, very prettily contrived and woven. The Inhabitantts are Mahometanes generally, poore, blacke, unhandsome and unholsome, as appeares by the sores and scarres that are uppon Many off them[5]; there beeing some Arabian Merchants here thatt goe and come at certaine Seasons, trading to the North end of St Lawrence [Madagascar] For ambargreece[6], slaves, etts., where, by

[1] The "queenes towne" was probably the residence of the "ould woeman Sultaness" of all the islands, whom Roe mentions in 1615. She died before Herbert's visit in 1626, for he says that Johanna "lately obeyed a Queen rectrix much commended for sagacity, but now submits to a King." *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, ed. Foster, I. 18; Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 25.

[2] The two chief towns of Johanna are Johanna Town or Moussamoudou on the north side of the island, and Pomony on the harbour on the south-west side. Mundy's "Chamoodo" may represent Moussamoudou, but I have found no contemporary name at all akin to Villanee, unless it is the Vaone of *Add. MS.* 5415 H. 4. In that case Vaone or Villanee cannot be identical with Pomony, which is also marked, as well as "Occobany." Other 17th century maps (*Sloane MS.* 3665 and K. *Maritime* VI. 1(107) give Chusan Town and Pomony as the two chief places in Johanna.

[3] The inhabitants of Johanna are of Arab origin.

[4] Thirty-six years later Fryer also was struck by the massive nature of these ruins. Fryer's *East India and Persia*, ed. Crooke, I. 60.

[5] Mundy seems to be alluding to scars such as those which disfigured the inhabitants of Comoro Island when William Rivett visited it in 1609:—"They have three markes burned of their faces whilst they are yonge, to say, one of the each syde of the eye and one upon the forehead betweene the eye browes; which makes them saye the Moores of the iland of Comora have five eyes. It is a great disfiguringe to their faces, both of men and women being personable and well lymmed. *Marine Records*, No. VII., quoted in the *Journal of John Jourdain*, ed. Foster, p. 28 *n.*

[6] See Fryer for a definition of this substance and contemporary allusions to it. He says that this commodity was obtainable at Johanna, *op. cit.* I. 68 *n.*

report, the people are more Civill and Industrious then those att Augustine bay where I was last voyage[1].

Here were a Couple of Juncks, wherof the one not yett finished, of nere 100 tunnes burthen, on whome I could not see any Naile, spike or other Iron worke, shee beeing all sowed together[2]. With these they traffick as aforesaid, as allsoe to the Coast of Melinde[3] and Arabia.

Wee here found very good Reffreshing, as good water, Beeves, goates, hennes, plantanes, Coconutts, Orenges, lymes and very good Toddy[4], Ryalles of eight[5] beeing our best barter, *viz.*, 2 Ryalles of eight For a bullocke, 1 Ryalle For a good goate, or 2 smalle ones, 5 or 6 hennes For 1 Ryalle; Goates and hennes Deare; all the rest reasonable.[6] Wee had any thing (beeves excepted) in truck For Callico, Knives, Cotton, Woole, etts. Of the latter [cotton] here groweth some, allthough butt little, there beeing a few poore Weavers here.

Strange bullockes.

Among their bullockes here, as allsoe in India, I Doe remember to have seene some whose hornes hang Downeward and Doe shake to and Fro as they goe, beeing Naturally loose in their heads[7]. They are not common to bee seene, butt here and there one by Chaunce.

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[1] Mundy spent ten days at Madagascar in his outward voyage to India in 1628. See vol. II. pp. 7—8, 12—13.

[2] See Fryer's description of a similar vessel in course of construction when he was at Johanna. Fryer, *East India and Persia*, ed. Crooke, I. 65. See also Linschoten, *Voyage to the East Indies*, ed. Burnell, I. 32 *n*.

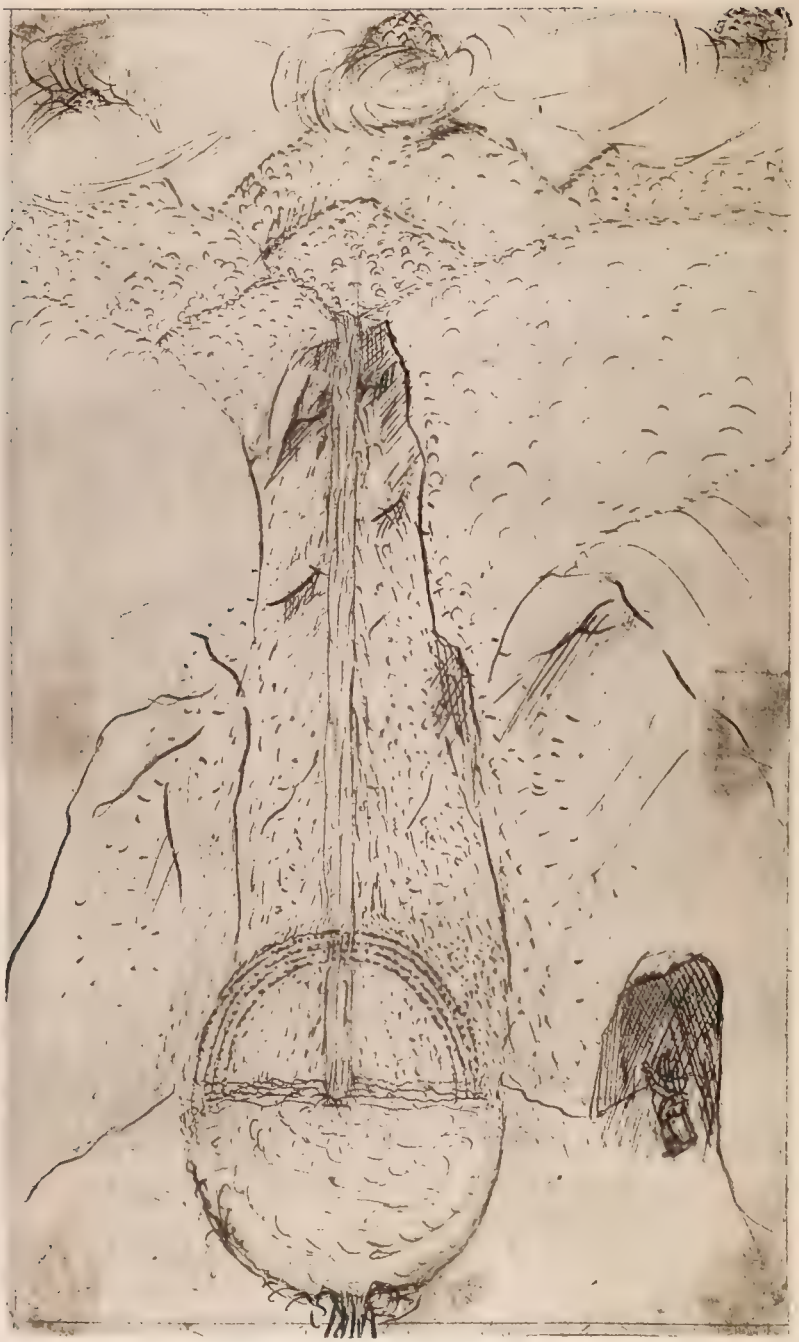
[3] Malindi, a port of British East Africa, visited by Vasco da Gama in 1498.

[4] *Tārī*. See vol. II. p. 32 *n*.

[5] The piece of eight reals (Spanish dollar) was worth four shillings.

[6] On Mundy's second visit to Johanna, in 1655 (*Relation* XXXVI.), bullocks were rather dearer, fetching from two to four reals of eight, but goats and "cocks and hens" were cheaper, the former from half a dollar upwards and the latter at ten or twelve for a dollar.

[7] Mr W. L. Sclater informs me that humped bullocks with loose horns are occasionally found in India, but not as a special variant of the Humped Ox or Zebu, the malformation being artificially brought



No. 4. A Cataracke of Water.

A Cataracke of water, with other Curiosities of Nature.

Near unto the queens towne or Chamoodo comes Downe a pretty brooke, and aboutt ¼ Mile upp it makes 2 little Falles, under which are 2 pretty pondes where our Commaunders and people of all Degrees resort sometimes to Wash themselves. My selffe and 2 more went uppe a good Mile ½ above the said pondes, keeping along by and in the brooke untill wee were stopped at a place exceeding high and steepy on all sides, From whence came Downe 2 other falls off a wonderfull height, which maid the said River. The Fathermost by computation could not bee lesse then 20 Fathom perpendicular, For soe the streame Fell withoutt toutching any part of the banck From the toppe untill it fell into a Curious tancke or pond Neare circular[1]. Some of the water in Falling that great Distance was soe Diffuzed and rarified that it resembled a pretty small shower of Raine, a Delicate coole ayre, a perpetuall Drumming Noise, butt above all, when the Sunne was opposite, there was at the Foote of the Fall presented to your view as perfitt a Rainebow in all his various glorious Coullours as that wee see sometimes in the cloudes, wanting only biggenesse. This Might not bee much above 15 or 16 Foote Diameter, occasioned perhappes by the opposition off the sunne beames (about 2 of the clocke afternoone) against thatt small Dispersed raine or Mizzle, backed with a black banke. It may bee artifically Don, For a man shall somtymes see a part off a Rainebow before a shippes

about by the owners when the animals are young. De Morga (ed. Stanley, p. 275) also remarks on loose-horned cattle: "Cows . . . from China and New Spain. Those of China are a small cattle . . . with very small crumpled horns, and some beasts shake them."

[1] Mundy paid a second visit to Johanna in 1655 and has further remarks in *Relation* xxxvi. on the "great" and "lesser" falls. Grose also alludes to the natural cascades in Johanna. See his *Voyage to the East Indies*, i. 19.

bow in a head sea on the springe[1], or water thatt the shippe hath Dashed and Driven in to a Mist. The place where these things are is allmost encompassed with very high banckes, having at the one side a spacious cave or grota. In my mind it is very fine place For awhiles solitarinesse, aswell For the rare and straunge prospect as For its extraordinary coolenesses, required and Desired in hott Countries. The manner therof I have here undersett in figure[2].

Perriwinckles in a Fresh water River.

In the aforesaid River wee saw som Cray Fish, allso a small shellfish sticking and cleaving fast to the Rockes and stones, like as lympetts Doe with us ; butt these are of another shape, somwhatt like perriwinckles[3]. Mee thought it straunge to find such in a Fresh River Far uppe from the Sea.

A strange Pond and strange stories of it.

There is by report aloft among the toppes of the Hilles a large and Deepe tancke or lake, of which are told strange stories (beeleeved by some), as that it hath no bottome, butt thatt there is a passage From thence into the Sea and thatt certaine blacke Fowle ly hovering over it and take any sticks or leaves thatt should Fall into it to Defile it : superstitiously great holinesse and respect to the said pond, The Chiefe of the Iland resorting thither once a yeare to wash themselves and to performe certaine ceremonies to it. They hold allsoe if any straunger should Chance to wash in it, it would bee polluted and thatt then the Iland would suffer Calamities, as sicknesse, Dearth, Death, Foule wether. This is the peoples opinion of the said Pond as I was told by

[1] Combing. Mundy is describing the rainbow effects produced by a high forward sea breaking into mist and foam.

[2] See Illustration No. 4.

[3] Mr W. L. Sclater thinks that Mundy is here describing the *Neritina*, a small Gastropod inhabiting brackish and fresh water.

some thatt speake guzaratte or Indostan. There bee allsso some that speake Portugues. I say the opinion they have of this pond makes them unwilling to permitt any straunger to goe uppe. I my selff assaid to obtaine leave to goe upp with a guide, butt I could [not] procure it For love nor mony. I Doubtt nott butt a Pond there is, and I heare by their wordes it is held in greatt Veneration. Allsoe such black foule there bee and that they take leaves and trash outt of the Water (or seeme soe toe Doe) is true, Our Men having seene them Doe it att the Watring place; the rest fabulous, Devised to breed admiration and respect. I Never heard thatt any English yett have bin aloft, allthough some Desired itt, and all or most can speake off it[1].

I went to the next towne called Villanee and by us the Kings towne, one of the 2 aforementioned, either of them having a pretty little Mosche with a smalle tower. Comming backe From thence, I spentt that afternoone in ascending and Discending a high hill where I was told Captain Feilding[2] went uppe. It is the highest of the grassy hills, For the highest hilles of all are covered with trees as aforesaid[3]; The grasse

[1] Mundy is describing the large lake, probably the crater of an extinct volcano, situated at a considerable elevation in the mountains at the back of Pomony. In 1862 Captain Algernon de Horsey stated that it was said to be fathomless and was held by the natives in superstitious dread, porcupines, alligators and birds without wings being reported to haunt its vicinity. See his paper on the Comoro Islands, *Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc.*, 1864, pp. 261—262.

Mundy's account is of great interest as showing that he got his story from speakers of Gujarātī or Hindustānī or from Portuguese, all presumably immigrants from India. These must have given him a version of the local tales coloured by the superstitions of the Hindus as to sacred pools and not by those of the Muhammadan settlers.

[2] Captain Feilding a "kinsman" of William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, was permitted to sail with that nobleman in the *Mary* bound to Persia and India in 1631. The ship made a prolonged stay at Johanna in July 1631, when Captain Feilding would have had an opportunity of exploring the island. See *Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1630—1634, p. 96; Foster, *English Factories*, 1630—1633, pp. xvii.—xix., 161.

[3] The highest peak in the island, Johanna Peak, is 5177 ft. above the sea.

here very rancke which they usually sett on fire, and then it springeth againe From the rootes Fresh and greene in a short tyme. Here they putt their Flockes and heards to Feed. From this hill inward I saw a reasonable spatious plaine, aboutt 5 or 6 miles in Compasse, where it seemes they sow graine, For it was Divided in to Squares and pertiones[1] as our English Feilds. Plaines are here scarce excepting Neare the Sea Side. It is a very good soile For pasture allsoe, the lower Woodes betweene the hilles producing sundry sorts off Fruites, Flowers and herbes unknowne unto us: among the rest a Curious smalle and sweete Orenge, commonly by us called China orenges[2]; A white hunnisuckle of a pleasaunte smell, somwhatt like to that of a Muskrose[3].

The better sort of the Inhabitants apparelled like Moores [Muhammadans], the poorer sort naked excepting somwhatt aboutt their middle, butt the Weomen cover over their brests and all, holding it a shame to have them seene.

September Anno 1636. The 3d Currantt wee sett saile From Johanna[4].

Sundry land fowle come aboard.

The 22d and 23d [*September* 1636] came sundry land Foule aboard, *viz.*, a Hawke, a quaile, swallowes, and

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[1] There is no instance of this spelling of "portion" in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

[2] Sir David Prain informs me that the fruit Mundy is describing is most probably the *Citrus nobilis*, or Vangasay. It was noted at Madagascar in the 17th century by Dubois (*Voyages*, 1669—1672, ed. Oliver, p. 63):—"Small oranges, which they name Vangasecs [Vangasay], which are better than the oranges of China and Portugal." Fryer, who also saw this fruit at Johanna, refers to it as of "a pleasing sort, though small, not giving place to our China ones, tempting the Sight from a more exalted and less suspicious Tree" (Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 63).

[3] Sir David Prain is of opinion that Mundy's "white hunnisuckle" may be the *Jasminum auriculatum*, a climbing plant with white fragrant flowers.

In the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.* CCCLI. No. 30) the date is given as the evening of the 2nd September.

another straunge Foule with a bagge or receptacle in his throate. It was butt a small bird, not soe bigge as a turtle Dove, butt it would make an unmeasurable and an affrighting Mouth when it was offended, gaping in such an extraordinary Disproportionable wide manner that it seeme[th] this property was given to it as its speciall point of Deffence, *viz.*, to affrightt rather then bite[1], as per the Figure here sett Downe[2].

These aforesaid fowle Made us Imagine our selves to bee Farre Nearer the land then wee found our selves to bee afterwards.

The 27th [*September* 1636]. Wee saw many smalle Crabbes swimming on the top of the Water.

Brave sailing.

From Johanna hitherto all this Month Wee had such another parcell of Sailing as wee had beetweene Cape Bon esperansa and St Hellena last voyage homeward bound: A sett of faire weather, a gentle gale, a smooth sea; all these constant hereawaies at the tyme of this Monsoone[3].

Abstracte of the abovesaid Month of September 1636.

3. Sett saile in the Morning from Johanna.
4. Longitude from Johanna.
5. The 2 formers should have bin the 4th and 5t.
11. Crossed the Eaquinoctial. From hence North latitude.

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[1] Mr W. L. Sclater informs me that the "straunge foule" is undoubtedly a species of *Prion*, probably *Prion Vittatus*, the Broad-billed Blue Petrel. It is a small bird with a slaty-blue or dove-coloured plumage and a very wide bill and gape. It has also a dilatable bag on its throat and is not uncommon in the Indian Ocean. See Stark and Sclater's *Birds of South Africa*, IV. 488, 490.

[2] See Illustration No. 5.

[3] Here used in the sense of trade-wind. See note [4] on p. 34.

18. A currantt to the Northward: 17 leagues in 24 hours.

Sailed in these 27 Daies of this Monthe the some of Miles 2573

[6*th*] *October* 1636. Att our approaching Near the Roade of Goa, Our Admiralll sent the barge with Mr Vanworthy [Vernworthy] and Mr Robinson ashore with a lettre to the Vice Roy, who wear Freindly receaved. The next Day, beeing the 7th, The Galleones were under saile and came out to meet us, where the wellcome salutation passed Freely on both sides by report of the Ordnance.

The Arrivall att Goa.

The 8th [*October* 1636]. Wee came within, under commaund of the Fort or Castle of Bardesse[1], and anchored close under it. Then had wee the best peale of Ordnance that I ever yett heard, The Plattfforme within us, the Galleones without us and wee in the Middest, all sides letting Fly. Fo[r] with such a thundring Noise and redoubling eccho From the shore, thatt to them thatt knew us not to bee Freinds, it would appear as though wee were in a very hott Fight, the Fort and Galleones against us and wee against all. There were of the galleones 6 or 7, It beeing the Portugalls Fleete of Defence usually riding and keeping this port[2].

[1] The fortress of Agoada, erected in 1612, which encloses the peninsula at the S.W. of the province of Bardez and forms the northern extremity of Goa Bay.

[2] The Portuguese fleets which cruised to the north and south of Goa to guard the western coast of India against pirates (the Armada do Norte and the Armada do Sul) consisted at the beginning of the 17th century of 60 large vessels and two small ones, but at this date the power of the Portuguese was rapidly declining and with it their naval efficiency.

With regard to the "Fleete of Defence," the crew of the *London*, which touched at Goa in 1636, reported that "of the 6 galleons, 4 were old and leaky and none carried more than 36 guns"; the two others "were strong wellbuilt vessels having 60 guns, but they were without men or crew." *Hague Transcripts* (*Translations*) 1st series, vol. x. No. 328.

Abstracte for 8 Daies of the Month of October Anno 1636.

4. Land sene 10 leagues off. Sounded: sofft oozy ground in 50 Fathom.
5. Sounded againe and had 17 and 18 Fathom.
7. Anchored in 7 Fathom water.
8. Anchored under the Fort in $3\frac{1}{2}$ Fathom.

Sayled in 8 Daies of this Month the some of Miles...309.

Extract from the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30).

The Reception of Courteen's Agents at Goa.

6 *October* 1636. By the Almighties Conduct the good shipps *Dragon, Sunn* and *Planter* fell with the Coast of India and ancored the next daie in the Outer road of Goa; and forthwith, according as had bene formerlie concluded, Anthony Venworthie, Thomas Robinson and Robert Moulton were dispeeded in the barge to the Cittie with a letter to the viceroy as in the booke of letters. Passinge by the road, they went aboard the Admirall of the Galloons, whose fleet consisted of 6 saile (besides the Carracke whom we had formerlie mett at sea, who arryved 4 daies before us) and were kindlie welcomed by Don Francisco Tello de Meneses [? Dom Antonio Telles de Menezes], the generall, and so proceded to Goa, where they found the new old viceroy much disturbed with the newes of his brothers death, which he had latelie received out of Portugall, and being at all times inclyninge to a dotinge kinde of melancholie, he was now, it seemed, in an extraordinary fitt; but after some few houres waiting in the Chamber of presence, a Page came to demand if there were ever a Captaine amongst us, for with no worse man would his excellence speake. Thereupon Captaine Robert Moulton was presented and the letter delivered to him, to which was returned little or no answere for the present, but onlie a verball welcome, desiring that our men might be

kept in good government &c., and soe they were dismissed, being accompanied by one Padre Paulo [Pablo Reimão], a Dutchman of the societie of Jesus, who is one that hath bene imployed from the begininge to labor the peace with the English at Surratt. With him they went to the Jesuits College and there dined, and after leave taken, returned with the barge down to the road, where they found our shipps comeinge in, betweene whom and the Galleones and Castles of the Aguada was much freindlie strife who should exceed other in curteous congratulations.

8 *October* 1636. Haveing moored our shipps and ordred our occations belowe, the Veador de fazende[1] and other men of noate haveing likewise bene aboard and given us the welcome, Captaine John Weddell (accompanied with all the merchants, Comanders and prime persons of the fleet) passed upp to the Towne and was kindlie welcomed by the Viceroy under his cloth of state in a full presence of all the prime persons of India; at which instant he delivered his Majesties letter and token, which were kindlie accepted, and so wee tooke leave and departed downe to the shipps for the most part, save onlie Captaine Weddell and some few to accompanie him, who were for the night lodged in the Jesuits College.

Within Few Daies our Kings Majesties letter was Delivered unto this Vice Roy with a present, beeing a gold chaine with our King and queenes picture hanguing theron[2]. Wee had a house appointed us by Santa Luzia[3], and indifferent[4] correspondence shewed us a while. Butt el Conde de Linhares, the last viz Roy, our great hopefull Freind, was gon for Portugall and this come in his roome, who affected us Not, Nor I thincke

[1] Vedor da Fazenda, Inspector of Revenues, Controller of the Public Treasury; the officer next in rank to the Viceroy.

[2] See *infra* for the Viceroy's letter acknowledging the gift; and for his letter to the King of Spain announcing the arrival of Courteen's ships, see the end of this *Relation*.

[3] The church of Santa Luzia in the north-east quarter of the city of Goa was built *c.* 1544.

[4] The MS. has "in Different."

any elce him, For I could not heare any Speake well of him.[1]

Letter from the Viceroy of India to the King [of England, undated ? October 1636], *Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*,[2] Book 38 fol. 285.

Great was the general rejoicing and satisfaction in this City [Goa] upon the arrival of the ships that your Majesty [Charles I] was pleased to send hither under command of Captain John Wedel, whom God brought safely to port.

And I in particular had great pleasure in learning of the good health enjoyed by your Majesty and your royal household, and in receiving from your Majesty the necklace and medallion of her most serene Highness the Queen [Henrietta Maria], an honour and favour that I esteem in a degree which befits a gift from such a hand, one which I may justly bequeath as [included in my] arms to my heirs as a lasting remembrance of so great an honour. This lays on me the obligation to attach myself loyally to your Majesty's service, and to seize every opportunity of forwarding it. And as it is customary with Kings as powerful and magnanimous as your Majesty for one favour to be a pledge of many others, I pray your Majesty to look upon me as one of the meanest of your servants, and this to me will be the greatest favour of all and the one that I shall esteem the most highly.

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[1] Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, was Viceroy of Goa from 22nd October 1629 to 3rd December 1635 N.S., when he returned to Portugal. For his relations with the East India Company's servants in Surat, see Foster, *English Factories*, 1634—1636, pp. viii.—ix.

Pedro da Silva, 24th Viceroy, disapproved of his predecessor's policy of admitting the English to the ports under his jurisdiction, and in consequence placed every obstacle in the way of Courteen's merchants. He died 24th June 1639 N.S.

Faria Y Sousa remarks on these two Viceroys and says (III. 408) that De Linhares was accused of being "too rigid" and Da Silva of being "too easie." The latter, he adds, was nicknamed "the Mole, which in Portuguese signifies Soft," *i.e.*, *molle*, soft, effeminate.

[2] For a note on this series of documents, which is freely used later in the volume, see *Relation* XXIV. The above translation has been made by Miss Leonora de Alberti.

The said John Wedel and Nathaniel Montanei [Mountney], chief factor of the voyage, and the rest of the company were welcomed and treated with such courtesy and hospitality as befits subjects of your Majesty, and in accordance with what your Majesty directed in your letter. And although the order I received this year from the King my Master concerning the treaty with the English, concluded in these parts by the Viceroy my predecessor, gave me no further instructions than to cease hostilities, nevertheless, being under so great obligation to your Majesty, I took upon myself this weighty matter, and extended my commission to give free license to the men of these vessels to sell their merchandise and buy other commodities to their best advantage. And as to what lay in my power touching their personal needs, the equipment of their ships and the rest, they found in me all good will and a singleminded and sincere desire to make the Portuguese goods common to the subjects of your Majesty, whom God keep for the prosperity of your subjects, &c.

Extract from the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30).

Proceedings at Goa.

13 *October* 1636. Wee had a house appointed on shore, and the next day were visited by the Veadore de fazende and others; and soe we begann to fall to our busines, apointing every man to his charge. Our goods Comeing to the Custome house were dispatched from time to time by Thomas Robinson who, after some Contestation with these officers, found them every daie more or less tractable, according as they dreaded or slighted the Dutch, who about this time begann to beleagre the road; but no abatement of 10 Per Cent according as the king's broaker rated the goods.

16 *October* 1636. Wee visited the viceroy and presented him with scarlett [English broadcloth] &c. divers rarites, and so with a freindlie dismission, returned home.

The arrivall of the *Catherine* and *Anne*.

The 23d currant [*October* 1636] arrived the *Catherine* and *Anne*, who mett att Johanna 2 or 3 Daies after our Departure thence, the *Anne* having toutçhed at St Lawrence[1]. This Day passed by 4 saile of Hollanders, as wee suppose bound for Suratt[2]. The Portugall galleones Made after them, butt overtooke them not[3].

The 27th [*October* 1636] arrived 10 saile of Hollanders and rode before the Port without Commaund[4].

Extract from the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30)—Courteen's Factors refuse to fight for the Portuguese.

30 *October* 1636. Tenn saile of Dutch came into the road and ancored very neere the shore, almost within shott, and weighing every daie with the breeze, berthed themselves still neerer and neerer towards the eveninge. Whereupon the Drums were struck upp in the Towne and all Soldiers

[1] According to the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30), the *Catherine* arrived at Goa on the 24th and the *Anne* on the 25th October. The *Catherine* reached Johanna the day after the departure of the *Dragon, Sun* and *Planter*, having touched at the island of Maio. She "brought not anie sicke men in her nor had lost anie in the whole voyage."

[2] In the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* it is stated that the *Anne* had spoken with these four ships, commanded by Wollebrant Gelijnszoon, and had learned that they were part of a fleet of 17 sail, "whereof 10 were apointed to be before Goa and the other 3 to keepe the straights of Malacca."

[3] The Dutch ships were chased for twenty-four hours, but (as stated in the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet*) "being all merchantmen . . . held it noe wisdome to staie for the Portugalls, but stood awaie with all the saile they could make." In reporting this occurrence to the King of Spain on the 3rd March 1637, N.S., the Viceroy stated (*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons, Translations*, vol. X.) that the galleons composing the Fleet of Defence were immediately fitted out, but that the enemy made off and the galleons refrained from chasing them for want of orders. In a second letter of the 10th March, however (*op. cit.*), the Viceroy declared that the galleons chased the Dutch for two days but that the enemy fled with such swiftness that it was impossible to overtake them.

[4] Outside the range of the guns from the castles guarding the entrance to the city. The *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30) gives the date of their arrival as the 30th October. See *infra*.

comanded aboard, the viceroy and his Councell repayring downe to the port, where they caused the Carracke latelie come from Portugall, which then lay unrigged, to be fitted, and putt more Ordnance aboard her, earnestlie wooing us in the meane time, by the mediation of Padre Paulo [Pablo Reimão] the Jesuite afore mentioned, to goe forth with our shipps and to assist them against the Dutch[1], proffering us what content we should demand; but when we returned our absolute annswere that we might not doe upon danger of our lives, the viceroy sent us word that as we came into his harbor as freinds, he supposed hee might constraine our shipps to serve, but would not, and here withall caused to be declared unto us that at our pleasures we might depart, where upon we begann to retire our selves downes [*sic*] and grewe earnest with the Veadore de fazenda for our dispatch, and that we might come to accompte, which he promised to performe so soone as he could come upp, which was not of manie daies after; and so we refusing to assist them, their designe for going forth vanished and (as it seemes) the viceroy was sorry for his hastie speech, fearing upon our distast, that wee might at our goeing forth consort with the Dutch, and hath since aforded us all verball Curtesies.

The 19th November [1636] Died Richard Edger.

The 26th November [1636][2] Died William Wadley quarter Master beelonguing to the *Planter*.

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[1] The Viceroy in his letter of the 3rd March as above (note [3] p. 49) reported that the Dutch fleet consisted of seven large and three small ships; that a delay in attacking them took place while the carrack recently arrived from Portugal was armed to accompany the galleons; that subsequently the Camara (Council) at Goa strongly opposed the idea of risking the Fleet of Defence and endangering the safety of the City. Moreover, the galleons were old and defective, insufficiently manned and inadequately supplied with artillery. These reasons induced the Viceroy to desist from his purpose of giving battle to the Dutch fleet.

[2] On the 21st November the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* records the arrival of a frigate belonging to the E. I. Co. with Henry Bornford, member of Council, who came to claim a sum of money left in the hands of the Vedor da Fazenda, which had been detained on account of the piracies committed by Captain Cobb in the Red Sea. Bornford brought a letter from President Methwold to Captain Weddell and took back a reply. For these, see the notice of Weddell in Appendix B.

The 5th December [1636] Died Edward French beelonguing to the *Planter*.

Extract from the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30)—Preparations for departure from Goa.

13 *December* 1636. The time groweing late, we putt upp a request to the Viceroy and his Councell, importing that they would either dismisse us to prosecute our voyage with satisfaction for what they had received, or else to aford us lading of pepper and synnamon for one of our small shipps at the kings price, it being verie requisite to dispeed some one vessell for Europe with advice, which request of ours was returned with annswere endorsed to this effecte, that as yet there was neither pepper nor synnamon arrived, though daily expected, and that longer then 20 daies it could not be retarded, and then our demand should be satisfied, and they would take it kindlie if we would afford passage to one whom they intended to send with letters of Advise to his Majestie of Spaine; but all this prooved nothing but words, for neither pepper nor synnamon apeared in all the limitted time nor after during our being there.

24 *December* 1636. We went to the Veadore de fazenda and gave him in the accompte of all the Cordage &c. which we had delivered ashore, who being then very sicke, entreated our forbearance for a while, and with manie faire promises assured us of all content and square dealinge.

28 *December* 1636. A boate with a flagge of truce went of to the Dutch ships about the ransominge of 2 Portugall prisoners and brought us a letter from them . . . the contents wherof deserve no remembrance. Howsoever, for avoyding of anie misconceite which might trouble the viceroy, we carried the letter to his Councell, himselfe being then absent, which they professed to take in good part, and so we heard no more of it.

A Fightt betweene the Portugalles and the Dutch.

The 11th January [1637]. Before Day the galleones set forth, beeing 7 saile and about 15 or 16 Frigatts, and were very Near the Hollanders before the[y] were aware, where some were faine to lett slippe and to fitt themselves For the encounter, throwing much lumberment over board that pestred the Deckes. Aboutt 6 in the Morning they beegan, and continued skirmishing untill Noone, when by a warning peece From the Plattfforme, the Portugalles retired into the Port and the Hollanders to their old birth. One of the Galleones lost her Mayne topmast and receaved Divers shott under water, Soe thatt shee was in Daunger of sincking, butt by good Dilligence shee was releived, our English Carpenters beeing sent aboard. There were slaine of the Portugalls aboutt 11 or 12, and many hurt, butt of the Dutch wee here nothing as yett.

Whatt I write concerning this Fightt is by the relation of others, my selff not present, beeing in the Citty att thatt tyme[1].

Extract from the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30)—A further account of the action.

11 *January* 1637. The six portugall galloons earlie in the morninge waighed and stood out to the Dutch, and were come so nigh before they were discovered that the rereadmirall was forced to lett slipp. They continued a slight buckering [bickering, skirmishing] for the space of 5 houres in sight of the road, and then by a warning peece from the Castle were called in. The Dutch haveing received sundrie shott in their hulls without much prejudice, with the losse onlie of 6 men, returned againe to their accustomed births. One of the galloons had her mainemast shott in the hounds

[1] For the Dutch and Portuguese versions of this engagement, see Appendix C.

[projections at the sides of the masthead] and another received a shott under water, which through neglect of looking to, had undoubtedlie suncke her, shee being almost full of water when the frigotts towed her ashore in the harbor, where our Carpenters stopped her leakes. They had slaine eleaven men and 10 maymed and sore wounded. All those who were spectators constantlie affirme that there were but 3 shipps on either side that performed anie thing to purpose, and yet even the best of those also not meriting much Comendation.

Runawayes.

This Month there ran away From us 3 off our tallest Men, no great cause beeing given them, rather provoked by their owne unquiett and turbulent spiritts, wee suppose [than] by Circumstances. They are concealed by the Portugalls who Now stand in Need of such Men, especially gunners. With them ran away allsoe one of the *Sunnes* Company[1].

The Iland of Goa[2].

Of the Iland and Citty of Goa, Inhabitantts, buildings, etts. Notable.

The Iland of Goa lieth in 15½ Degrees of North lattitude and about 34½ Degrees East Longitude From Johanna, in compasse 8 or 10 leagues[3], somwhatt hilly, their skirtts with the vallies extraordinary Fruitfull by Nature and Art, having Many Fountaines and springs of sweet water[4], which seemed to mee somwhatt straunge,

[1] During her stay at Goa the *Sun*, as recorded in the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30), was fitted with a new mainmast; her old one, being "spent at sea," was "very uneasie for the shipp" on account of the weight of the timber which had been used to strengthen it.

[2] The island is formed by the intersection of the rivers Zuari and Goa on its N.E. boundary.

[3] The present circuit is 21 miles.

[4] Linschoten, however (ed. Burnell I. 182—183), says: "They have but little fresh water . . . only one Well . . . which standeth about a quarter of a mile without the Cittie, wherewith the whole towne is served."

considering thatt in the Norther part of India, where I travelled soe farre and staied soe long, they were soe scarce thatt I could hardly see any. The toppes of the hills smooth, covered with grasse, in some places gravelly, in others rocky and stony, From whence they Draw such quantities of stone[1] to supply their Edifices, *viz.*, Churches, Castles, Citty buildings, countrie houses, the long Wall Crossing over the Iland From the Powder-house to Santiago, the Causey built by the Conde de Linhares[2], the banckes towards the waterside in most places Walled uppe; all these etts. of hewen stone of a reddish Coullour.

The Citty of Goa.

The citty may bee in compasse some 4 or 5 Miles, the Middle part compacted, the skirts scattringwise. Some faire streetes, store of strong and faire buildings, many goodly Churches, Monasteries and colledges, as faire to see to without as ritche and beautifully adorned within, founded on the most eminenst places of the Citty which standeth on sundry round rising hills, each off [the] toppes commonly crowned with one of these—The Cathedrall Church[3], the Colledge of the Jesuitts[4], the Monastery

[1] Laterite is the stone most abundant in the district. It is red in colour.

[2] The "long wall" was begun during the government of Dom Antão de Noronha (1564—1568). It began with a fort on the N.E. part of the island and extended to São Thiago (Santiago) and thence south and west to the Casa de Polvora (gunpowder-factory) at Panelim. See Linschoten, ed. Burnell, I. 176, 179.

The "Causey" connecting the village of Ribandar with Pangim or New Goa forms the main road over a salt marsh from the new to the old capital. It was begun by the Conde de Linhares in 1633 and finished in the following year.

[3] This building, begun in 1562 and completed in 1619, superseded the church dedicated to St Katherine, erected by the orders of Albuquerque in 1511. See Fryer, *East India and Persia*, ed. Crooke, II. 10.

[4] The New College of St Paul or Convent of St Roch situated on the west of the Holy Mount (Nossa Senhora de Rozario). The site was purchased by the Jesuits after an epidemic which had rendered the buildings of the old College and Church of St Paul extremely unhealthy. See Fryer's description, *East India and Persia*, II. 11—12.

of the Carmelites[1], the Nunnery[2], etts. The last was fired by accident att our beeing there, the structure Deffaced, Much goodes burned, spoyled and lost, butt noe body hurt[3].

Many Castles and Fortes, as thatt of Bardesse to the Northward and [blank] on the south side of the Comming in, another going over the barre, Augee [Daugim or] Madrededios, Santiago, etts.[4] The last are att passages over to the Mayne, att some places not above ½ a stones cast over, the Moores country adjoyning within ½ a league thereabouts[5].

Sundry tanckes in the Citty, some very full of fish, especially one then which I never saw soe little quantity of water soe stored; others withoutt att their Countrie houses along by the waterside and among the vallies, as the Jesuitts and Friers houses att St Annes[6]. At the

[1] The convent and church of the barefooted Carmelites was erected early in the 17th century. It stood on a hill near the Holy Mount. See Fryer, ed. Crooke II. 14.

[2] The Convent and Church of St Monica also stood on the Holy Mount. Its construction occupied 21 years (1606—1627) and it could accommodate 100 nuns. It was open not only to Europeans, but also to Christians of Eurasian and native extraction. See Fryer, ed. Crooke. II. 14—15.

[3] In the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* there is the following account of this fire :—" The Nunnery of St Monica, being the goodliest fabrige [*sic*] in the whole Cittie and the sole cloister of women, by negligence tooke fire and in 2 daies was wholie consumed, with much tresure both in plate, Jewells and Church Stuffe."

[4] By the castle of " Bardesse " Mundy means the fortress of Agoada (see note [1] on p. 44). The one on the south of the port of Goa is the fortress of Cabo (Nossa Señora do Cabo), at the West extremity of the island. The one " going over the barre " is the fortress of Mormugão, the construction of which was begun in 1624. " Augee Madredios " was apparently the fort on the N.E. part of the island at Daugim, representing the Portuguese form of an old native name Aujī. The fort of Benasterim or Santiago contained a huge gun taken from the Muhammadans. See Linschoten, ed. Burnell, I. 180—181, who calls these forts " Passo de Daugijn or of Madre de Deus " and " Passo de Benesterijn, or S. Iago."

[5] These forts were opposite to gates in the wall of defence formerly mentioned (see p. 54).

[6] Apparently a mistake for St Augustine's. The convent of St Augustine was situated near that of the New College of St Paul (see note [4] on p. 54), which Mundy calls the " Jesuitts house." It was erected in 1572 by twelve Augustinian friars and rebuilt ten years later. Della Valle (*Travels*, I. 182) mentions " a Church of Saint Anna " at a " place of pleasure in the Island," but this does not appear to have been also an ecclesiastical foundation.

Former the Commaunders, Merchantts, etts. were feasted by the Padres Jesuitts, and after Dinner enterteyned with good Musicke of voices, accompanied with the Harpe and Spanish gitterne [cithern]; our English Musicke was allsoe there. The house is seated in a Most Delicious shady grove on the side of a hill[1] replenished with Multitudes off tall spreading and allwaies flourishing fruite trees, pleasant springs, walkes, and a curious tancke lying under a rocke (whence the water Issues), quite overshadowed with trees.

In this gardein I first saw the pepper plant growinge uppe at the Foote of the Arrecca or betele Nutt tree, Clyming, spreading and Clasping like Ivy about the body of the said tree. I have not yett seene any tree which For straighttnesse, heightt and slendernesse may bee compared to the said Arrecca tree. This part of the Country affoards No pepper for Marchandize, only the plant to bee seene in some gardeins as a raritye.

Fruites, *viz.* Jamboes.

Jambo trees, which then blossomed, when [and then I thincke Few trees More beautiffull to the Eye, the Flower of a good bignesse, fine forme and of an excellent vermillion Dye, very thicke sett, growing on the stalkes and biggest bowes, not at the very end of the sprigges as trees Doe bear with us. This Fruit is ordinarily now served att our table, in forme like an apple or peare, of a whitish coullour with a Dash of red as some of our apples. It smelles beetweene a violett and a rose; of a Pleasaunt tast, though somwhat Flashy [insipid] or waterish[2].

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[1] The Mount of the Rosary or the Holy Hill, so named on account of the religious buildings erected there.

[2] The Rose Apple, *Eugenia jambos*, Skt. *ambu*, the fruit of which is about the size of a small apple.

Cajooraes : of a straunge propertye.

Cajoora trees, whose blossome casteth a Most Fragrant smell into the ayre, the Fruit somwhatt harsh in tast and strong, allthough it hath this property, thatt I thincke none elce [hath] the like, *viz.*, thatt wheras the seedes or Kernells of other Fruittes grow within them, the Kernell of this growes quite withoutt it at the very end, resembling a French beane, though much bigger, and beeing roasted, eateth like a Chestnutt[1]. It is thus Figured.

No. 6. Cajoora (Cashew) Fruit.

Jackes.

Jacke trees, whose Fruitte groweth on the very body, stemme, or biggest braunches of the tree. There bee some thatt Wey Near 40 pound waight, and in my opinion is the biggest Fruit thatt groweth on trees, as I thincke the Cocotree beares the biggest Nutte[2].

Coconutts : its wonderfull benefit and use.

Cocotrees have onely one stemme and No braunches or boughes at all, with a great bush att the very toppe.

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[1] The Cashew, *Anacardium Occidentale*, a native of Brazil, introduced by the Portuguese into India in the 16th century. Linschoten (ed. Tiele, II. 27—29) has a detailed description of this shrub with its fruit and kernel. See also Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Cashew. Mundy's "Cajoora" confuses the Indian form *kājū* of the original South American *acajou*, the cashew nut, with *khajūr*, *khajūrā*, the ordinary Indian term for the date-tree.

[2] For the Jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) and its fruit, see Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 110. See also Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Jack, for the history and derivation of the word.

It is in many places much commended For the great benefitt itt affoards to Mans use, and not undese[r]ved, For to my Knowlidg it affoardes Meat, Drink, and lodging, Oyle, Wyne, Milk, Sugar, etts., and good Cordage Made of the outtward rinde of the Nutte, which in Clusters grow outt att the toppe on a sprigge, as Doe allsoe the Papaes[1] in a Manner, the tree Differing in leaves and height

Here are Divers trees thatt I saw not in North India, as Peares, soe here called, like those in Europe, butt of a very strong relish[2].

Jamblins, like unto wild Damzens, or a harsh plumme wee have in the West Countrye in coullour, forme and tast, butt have 7 or 8 stones each[3].

Jamboes of Mallacca: small red, of a tart tast, given commonly to the sicke[4].

A Delicate Fruit resembling a pine, butt when ripe it is sofft and of an Admirable tast, called Atae[5].

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[1] The Papaw, *Carica papaya*. See vol. II. p. 14.

[2] The common pear is cultivated throughout South India. See Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 910.

[3] "Jamblin" ("Jambolin" in the margin of the MS.) represents the Hind. *jāmun, jāman*, etc., through the Port. forms *jambolan, jamblin*. Sir David Prain informs me that Mundy's "Jamblins" are almost certainly the fruit of the *Carissa Carandas*, a spiny bush cultivated for its fruit in many parts of India. For a description of the shrub, see Rumphius, *Herbarium Amboinense*, vol. VII., Supplement, cap. LXXIV. pp. 57—58.

[4] "Jamboes of Mallacca" should represent the Malay Apple, *Eugenia* (*Jambosa*) *Mallaccensis*, the fruit of which is large and juicy. Alexander Hamilton (*A New Account of the East Indies*, I. 258) says of the fruits of Goa, "Their Jambo Malacca is very beautiful and pleasant." But Mundy's description applies rather to Linschoten's "Jangomas . . . small round plummes of a dark red colour . . . harsh in the throat like slowes or unripe Plums" (Linschoten, ed. Tiele, II. 32). The "Jangoma," so Sir David Prain informs me, is a species of *Flacourtia*, that described by Linschoten being *Flacourtia Cataphracta*, while Mundy's fruit is more probably *Flacourtia montana*, because this variety is better known as indigenous in the region of Goa. It is about the size of a cherry, red or purple, and is edible, with a pleasant acid taste.

[5] The Custard Apple (*Anona squamosa*), known in Malabar and Upper India as *ātā*. Mundy has another reference to this fruit, in *Relation* XXVII., when he was at Achin in 1638, and he there calls it by its American name Anona. These two references are especially

Pine Apples or Ananasses [*ananās*], allthough here sett last, yett deserves the first rancke For itts excellent refreshing tast and smell, senting and tasting [? like] (but Farre transcending) the Daintiest Mellon apple with us.

In most of their gardeins all the spaces beetweene the trees in [? is] covered with their plantts. And as I said before, I saw here Sundry sorts off Fruites which I had not seene in North India, butt For any thatt grew there, they Mightt here bee Found.

Plentifull provision.

Provisiones ar[e] here Plenty and Cheape, as good white wheat bread, good beefe, hennes, pigges, Fruite, and wonderfull store of excellent Fresh Fish, in variety of which I Never yett saw place soe well and Constantly provided, brave Portugall wyne (like unto Vino garbo[1] at Venice, not soe harsh Nor red) For about 12d a quart English, store of racke ['*arak*, arrack] and toddy, Cheape.

Att our beeing here was launched a New Galleon off 14 Foote by the Keele, as they say, beeing First blessed, Christned, and named *el buen Jesus* by the Archebishoppe thatt came over in the Carracke as aforementioned. Shee was launched in a Device wherin shee was built, called a Cradle, which is a world of tymber Made uppe and fastned on either side to keepe her uprightt, and soe with Cables, Capstanes and a Multitude of people, the[y] Forced her into the Water, the way beeing first very well tymbred and tallowed. There was another on the stockes. They are very long a Doing and issue att e[x]cessive rates.

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interesting as being the earliest notices of the fruit in India and the East by European travellers. See the article, *s.v.* Custard Apple in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, where the first quotation given is in 1672. It will be observed that Mundy's name for the fruit, Anona, confirms the belief in its American origin.

[1] Vin garbo, wine that has a sharp taste. Mundy is alluding to the rough red wine which he drank when in Northern Italy in 1620.

A Carracke.

I went aboard the Carracke formerly mentioned. Shee is said to bee of 1600 tonnes, of a straunge Forme, her beakehead in such a manner and soe capacious thatt would [measure] Near 20 tonnes, and the biggest longboate in our Fleete would easily ly in her forechaines; 12 mayne shrowdes of a side; steered below with takles fastned to her tiller: all Monstrous [strange meethought.

A Ritche Monumentt or Coffin[1].

Padre Paolo [Pablo Reimão], a Jesuitt (a cheife Negotiator of our late Made peace with the Portugalls and a great instrument in this Designe)[2], shewed us at the Colledge of Bon Jhesus[3] a Monumentt or tombe For the Body off Francisco Xavier (which is in this Church), their greatt reputed saint and by them stiled the second Apostle of India (Saint Thomas, one of the 12, beeing the First). It is all of Silver, of good worckmanshippe, and on sundry compartments on all the 4 sides therof are severall stories of his life artificially embossed, the whole Worcke sett with sundry sorts of stones. At one side of the said Church is a Chappell now building to place it[4]. One of the Padres told mee that [the] body is much Dried, wanting one eye perished,

[1] The full title given in the margin is "A Ritche Monumentt or Coffin For the body off Francisco Xavier, the Portugalls much honoured India Saint which lieth in Bon Jhesus att Goa."

[2] For Pablo Reimão's share in the negotiations between the English and Portuguese 1634—1636, see Foster, *English Factories*. In 1639 he was rector of the College of Bāndra, near Bombay (*ibid.* 1637—1641, p. 99 and note).

[3] The House of Bom Jesus was completed *c.* 1589 and the Church, begun in 1594, was consecrated in 1605.

[4] St Francis Xavier died at San Shan, an island at the mouth of the Canton (Si Kiang) River, in 1552. The translation of his body from St Paul's to the church of Bom Jesus took place in 1624. It was at first deposited in the Chapel of St Francis Borgia in the north transept and in 1655 transferred to the chapel in the south transept, which was in course of construction at the time of Mundy's visit.

as allsoe an arme cutt off and sentt to Macao[1]. They soone after solemnized his holy Day[2] (hee beeing then placed in the said Monument before the high Alltar) with much good Musicke, and at Nightt pretty artificall Fireworcke[3], their Church and steeple, with others, sett with Multi[tu]de of lampes in such order on the outsides thatt itt Made a Delightsom shew a Farre offe in the Darck nightt.

Festivall shewes.

As I have formerly Mentioned, there are Many faire Churches, unto which beelong Multitudes off Churchmen of sundry orders who keepe Many Festivalls in the yeare, wheron they bestow great Cost in Pageantts, shewes, etts. Musick, Antick [fantastic] Daunces to accompany their processiones, hanguing the streetes and adorning their Churches extraordinary, and sometimes att night Fireworckes, having seene sundry of those holie Daies celebrated at our beeing there. Thus they spend away part of their idle tyme, as allso part of the great meanes that those Churches etts. religious houses are endowed withall[4].

Bayting of Buffaloes.

Allsoe in Imitation of the Spanish Bullbaiting the[y] ran a Couple of Buffaloes one after the other[5]. The

[1] In November 1614 the right arm of the Saint was cut off by order of the Pope, who sent a portion of it to Macao. Mundy's version of the state of the body is not corroborated by other writers. See Fryer, *East India and Persia*, ed. Crooke, II. 12 ; and for accounts of the Saint and his tomb see the references given in the footnote on that page.

[2] The 3rd December.

[3] By " pretty artificall Fireworcke " Mundy means what are now known as illuminations, an art in which the natives of all parts of India are adepts. Such illuminations are constantly used at festivals and on gala occasions.

[4] For other contemporary descriptions of Goa, see Linschoten, I. 175 ff. ; Della Valle, I. 154 ff. ; Pyrard de Laval, II. pt. i. 24 ff. ; Fryer, II. 7 ff. (Hakluyt Society's editions) ; see also Fonseca, *Sketch of Goa*, from which most of the above identifications have been taken.

[5] Buffalo baiting is not mentioned among the amusements of Goa by any of the authorities cited above.

first unhorsed and endaungered a fidalgo called Don Gregoris [*sic*] Simones Caravallo and the 2d killed a Negro [African] outrightt, having runne him into the body att the Fundamentt.

Elephantts.

The Vice Roy hath a Couple of Elephantts which are putt to Worcke, as to draw tymber, etts., by Fastning unto it a rope of Cairo[1] (of the coconutt), which the Elephant taking beetweene his Jawteethe, hee Draweth it on, helping and guiding itt with his trunck and tuskes.

A straunge Fowle.

On the backe side of the towne is a pretty spatious lake with wild Foule in it, and many faire buildings on the banckes beelonguing to particuler gentlemen[2]. Here were 2 or 3 couple of a straunge and stately tame foule broughtt From Mozambicque. It is as tall as a Crane, somwhatt bigger, with great high tuffts on his head (like twisted bristles) as bigge as a Mans Fist[3].

The habitt of the Portugall weomen In India : and allsoe of their Men.

The Inhabitants of Goa are Portugalls, Mestizoes and Canarins; some Banianes allsoe[4]. Portugall

[1] Coir, Mal. *kāyar*, dried fibre of the husk of the cocoa-nut. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Coir.

[2] The Lagoa, or lagoon, according to Pyrard de Laval, "of more than a league in circuit, and natural. On its banks are three fine mansions of great lords, who have built them there for their pleasure, with spacious orchards and gardens, fruit trees, and cocos." *Voyage*, ed. Gray, II. pt. i. p. 35.

[3] See Illustration, No. 7. Mr. W. L. Sclater informs me that Mundy is describing the *Balearica regulorum* or Crowned Crane (the *Mahem* of the Dutch colonists), common throughout south and south-west Africa. The tuft of stiff upstanding bristles on the head is a characteristic feature. It is often kept in captivity and becomes very tame. See Stark and Sclater's *Birds of South Africa*, IV. 284.

[4] Mestizoes, Port. *mestiço*, half-caste.

Canarins, a name generally applied, in the 16th and 17th centuries, to the inhabitants of the country above the Ghāts (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Canara), also by the Portuguese for "Eurasians."

Banianes, Hindu traders of the *Banyā* caste, from Gujarāt.

Weomen Scantt [few in number], The generality Mestizaes, apparelled after this country Manner, *viz.*, a Lunghee aboutt their Middle Downe to their Feete, a shortt smocke comming downe a little below their Middle over their Lunghee, their haire bound upp in a bundle or knotte made uprightt on the Crowne of their heades ; and when they goe abroad they Cast a pintado or painted cloath over all[1]. The better sort have store of Jewells and are Carried in covered Palanqueenes. The Portugall habitt seldome used by Weomen, except some few, and thatt on great Festivall Daies, att their Marriages etts. Butt the Men goe after their country Manner, the Most part with great long wide stuffe breeches downe to their shooes, and others as they Doe in Portugall.

The Pristine prosperous estate of the Portugalls in India Their Decaying att present, with the rising of the Hollander.

By History and report wee Doe find thatt in former tymes the Portugalls had a Flourishing tyme in these parts, beeing absolute Masters and Commaunders in these seas, Drawing all trade From all parts into their owne handes to their incredible benefitt. Then they triumphed like petty Romains, bestowing their wealth in building Churches, Faire Dwelling houses in the Citty and Countrie, in Ritche Furniture, planting gardeins, etts., spending their tyme in pleasure, ease and recreation, Nobody then to Disturbe them. Butt those Daies are past and their prosperous estate much abated by the comming in of the English and Dutch, who beegan to trafficke here aboutt 40 yeares since, and likely to bee yearly Worse and Worse with them, The Hollander having now beleaguered them in their owne port, who

[1] See Fryer, ed. Crooke, II. 27, and Pyrard de Laval, ed. Gray, II. pt. i. 103, 112—113, who both say that the smock was worn under, not over, the *lunggī*, or petticoat. For *pintado* or chintz, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*

now com on as fast forward in these Countries as the other grow behind-hand.

Coines, Waightts and Measures att Goa, *viz.* Coines[1].

A Cruzado[2], a peece of gold worth 12 sheraffines.
A Sheraffine, commonly a valuation and constantly worth 5 tangas.

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[1] The real difficulty in estimating Indian coinage at this period is that denominations constantly varied from time to time, not only intrinsically, but also as the travellers reporting them happened to be speaking of " good " or " bad " money. However, Mundy reporting in 1637 and Fryer in 1675 practically agree as to the Portuguese coinage at Goa in their time, as the following tables, made out from their statements, will show.

Mundy.		*Fryer, ed. Crooke,* II. 128.	
1¼ bazaruccos	= 1 res (spelter)	1¼ basrooks	= 1 res (rees)
12 res	= 1 vingtein (spelter)	12 res	= 1 vinteen
5 vingteins	= 1 tanga (copper)	5 vinteens	= 1 tango
5 tangas	= 1 sheraffine (silver)	5 tangoes	= 1 zeraphin
2 sheraffines	= 1 pattacca (silver)		
1½ pattaccas	= 1 pagode (gold)	3 zeraphins	= 1 pagod
4 pagodes	= 1 cruzado (gold)	4 pagods	= 1 cruzado
3600 reis to the cruzado		3600 reis to the cruzado	

Also Mundy says that 15 tangas and Fryer that 15 tangoes 15 basrooks went to a new St Thomas, and 16½ tangas (Mundy) and 16 tangoes 30 res (Fryer) went to an old St Thomas, making it clear that the St Thomas was identical with the pagoda, which was 15 tangas according to both Mundy and Fryer.

All this means that the St Thomas, pattacca, sheraffine and cruzado at that time represented respectively the modern pagoda, dollar, rupee or half dollar, and the gold *mohar* or *'ashrafī*. The term xerafim (sheraffine, etc.) is of interest here, from the fact that, for the gold form of the coin, it was the Portuguese corruption of the *'ashrafī* (noble), or gold *dīnār* (in India the gold *mohar*).

Linschoten's report (1583—1585) gives practically the same scale and values as the above, but he became so confused between " good " and " bad " money and the constant variation in the market value of the coinage that he is often self-contradictory and uncertain (Linschoten ed. Tiele, I. 241—244).

For a history of the Portuguese coinage in India, see Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, pp.. 30—31 ; for the descent of Indian and Far Eastern scales of Troy weight and money, and for contemporary currency reports on Goa and West Coast of India, see Temple, *Currency and Coinage among the Burmese* (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVI. pp. 313—318, vol. XXVII. pp. 57—67, 85—91) ; for analogies in the development of the European and Asiatic currencies which were in vogue in Mundy's time, see Temple, *Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States* (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLII. pp. 111—115).

[2] Port. *cruzado*, a coin marked with a cross.

A Tanga[1], 5 vingteins; a vingtein[2], 15 bazaruccos[3] or 12 Res [*reis*].

A Royal of 8tt or pattacca[4], worth Now 10 tangas, rising and Falling.

A St Thomea de figura, 16½ tangas; a St Thomea de Cruz[5], 15 tangas.

A Pagode[6], a peece of gold, allsoe worth 15 tangas.

Waightts.[7]

A Quintall is 128 arrates; a Roove is 32; and a Maen[8] 24 arrates. Here 100 arrates Maketh Nearest hand 102 pound English.

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[1] Mahr. *tāṅk*, Turki, *tāngā*. See the article on Tanga in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*. See also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvi. p. 235 *et seq.*

[2] The Portuguese *vinten* was a copper coin worth 20 *reis* and is so still in Goa. Mundy's "vinteign of 12 Res" was a spelter coin.

[3] Port. *bazarucco*, a corruption of *bazār rūka*, market money: *rūka*, a very small copper coin in Kanara and W. India. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Budgrook. Pyrard de Laval, ed. Gray, II. 18, gives, for 1607—1610, "75 busruques to the tangue," thus agreeing with Mundy and Fryer. In Telugu *rūka* equals the Tamil *panam* (*fanam*), a form of Sanskrit *paṇa*, a coin, money, used for very small coins, gold or silver, of varying value.

[4] Port. *pataca*, *patacoon*, *patacon*: an old European term for the dollar or piece of 8 reals.

[5] The St Thomas seems to have risen in value between the dates of Linschoten (1583—1588) and Pyrard de Laval (1607—1610), and those of Mundy (1637) and Fryer (1675), for the former report it as of 7 to 10 tangas in value and the latter as of 15 to 16 tangas. *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

[6] See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Pagoda (c).

[7] Mundy's statement as to weights agrees with Fryer and practically with every contemporary traveller. Mundy and Fryer compare as follows:—

Mundy, 1636.		*Fryer*, 1675, (*op. cit. p.* 129).	
32 arrates	= 1 roove	32 rotolas	= 1 arobel (rovel)
4 rooves	= 1 quintal	4 arobels	= 1 kintal

1 arrate = 1 English lb. + 2 % 1 rotola = 1 lb. averd.

Arrate, rotola, rattle, etc. is the Arab lb. (*ratl*):

Arroba, rovel, roove, etc. is the Arab quarter (*rub'a*):

Quintal, kintal (Port.), *qintār* (Arab.), is the Eastern cwt. of about 130 lbs.

The *ar* in *arrate*, *arroba* is merely the Arabic article *al*, the.

The *ratl* has lasted on to modern times in Goa as the *ratlo* for a lb. (Fonseca, *op. cit.* p. 32).

[8] Port. *mão*, Hind. *man*, the maund: in this case of 24½ lbs., *i.e.*, the S. Indian maund as distinguished from the N. Indian of about 80 lbs.

An arrate is somwhatt More then 16 ounces English, *viz.*, 2 per Cent.

A Marck is 8 oz., by which coine or silver is wayed, subdivided into $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$; $8\frac{1}{2}$ Royal off eight, beeing full Waightt, Make a Marcke[1]

Measures.

A Coved[2] is here $\frac{3}{4}$ yard English Next hand.

A Canada[3] is nere hand 3 English wine pints

And thus in breiffe I have toutched att some particulers of the Iland and Citty of Goa, refferring you For a more compleater description to Lincshott [Linschoten], etts.

In Conclusion, wee failing of our expectation, wanting our good Freind el Conde de Lynhares, and finding Nothing butt Delaies, faire Wordes and breach of promises, perceaving their intent, unwilling to have us intermeddle with their trade For hindring their particuler [private interests], Having broughtt and Delivered them sundry stores and Munition according to their requiry and contract, as Cordage, lead, shotte, anchors, Ironworcke, Pitche, tarre, etts., Wee demaunded satisfaction for the same and leave to Depart, which accordingly was graunted us, having bin here in all 3 Monthes and 9 Daies[4].

End of the 21 Relation.

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[1] Port. *marco*, a Troy weight of 8 ounces. It is interesting to note that according to the text the value of silver was then 4s. 8½d. to 4s. 9d. the ounce, taking the Royal of 8 (or dollar) at that period to have been worth 5s.

[2] Port. *covado*, a cubit or ell.

[3] Port. *canada*, a wine measure of 3 pints English. In modern Goa liquid measure a *canada* is 4 *xero* (Hind. *śer*), and a *xero* is nearly 13 oz., so the modern *canada* is about 3½ lbs. in weight or nearly 4 pints English. Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 32—33.

[4] The *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30), under date 15th January 1636/7 records that "after much expostulation with the Veadore de fazende and unexpected Cavills about the price of our Cordage, &c. wee received in full what they would afford us . . . and the next daie, haveing taken leave of all the prime men, repaired aboad."

The Dutch noted with satisfaction the disturbance of harmonious relations between the English and the Portuguese. In a letter to the

Letter from the Viceroy of India to the King [of Spain], 4 March 1637 [N.S.—22 February O.S.], (*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Book 37, fol. 481).

Sire,

In accordance with the peace they have made with your Majesty, concluded by the Conde de Linhares, five English vessels came to this port last October, bringing me a letter from their King, of which a copy will be sent herewith, and with it they presented a necklace and medallion sent by him, which were forthwith delivered to the Comptroller of the Exchequer to be forwarded to your Majesty, as will accordingly be done.

And as your Majesty was pleased, by a letter which came in the *São João de Deus*, to leave this matter to me, until such time as a decision shall be arrived at, I thought fit to communicate the matter to the Senate that assists me, causing the letter to be read to them and instructing them to advise me what should be done. They were unanimously of opinion, for various reasons set forth by each one in the documents signed by them and enclosed herewith[1], that commerce with the English should be allowed and continued, license being given them to take a house in this city [Goa], where they might store and sell their commodities, paying the duties. This has been done.

And as these Englishmen brought sails, lead, anchors, and cannon balls, I gave orders for all these things to be bought of them in the quantities and for the sums stated in the list accompanying this letter.

The English remained here buying and selling until the 8th of February [N.S.], when they left for

Directors of the Dutch East India Company, dated Swally 2nd December 1636 (*Hague Transcripts, Translations*, 1st series, vol. x. No. 327) is the following passage :—" It appears that the present Viceroy does not hold them [the English] in such estimation as his predecessor. . . . The Portuguese resent Captain Weddell's trading with China, and a feeling of jealousy and mistrust seems to prevail."

[1] None of the enclosures mentioned in this document are found among the *Lisbon Transcripts* at the India Office. The translation given here is by Miss Leonora de Alberti.

Surrate, from whence to return to England[1]. They carried my reply to their King, of which I likewise enclose a copy.

I learnt later that these ships went to Canara to buy pepper; that the English offered a higher price for it than we give, that they sought out a Moorish Corsair, Babia by name[2], an enemy of the State and discussed their plans with him, as may be seen by the letters written to me on this subject enclosed herewith.

And thus by what I wrote to your Majesty last year concerning what these English did in China[3], as also by what I have reported upon this occasion, your Majesty will see that this people do not respond to the courtesy and confidence which we show them. And it is most necessary, Sire, if we are to have peace and commerce with the English, that there be a clear understanding that they do not buy pepper. Because, apart from the loss which arises from its being taken to Europe, they raise the price of it here, for the natives of these parts if offered a *bazaruco*[4] more will break any contract and will sell the pepper to whomsoever offers most for it. Therefore, if we are not to be involved in perpetual war with them [the English], the matter must be remedied.

After the departure of these vessels, another ship came from Surrate, and brought a quantity of copper and cannon balls, which was also purchased[5]. As I have given further details concerning this people in the various letters sent by this opportunity, I will say no more upon the matter.

God keep your Catholic and Royal Majesty as the needs of Christendom and your subjects require.

From Goa 4th March 1637 [N.S.].

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[1] This remark implies that the Viceroy was not aware, until after their departure from Goa, of the intention of Courteen's merchants to proceed to Macao.

[2] Bābā Rāwat. See *infra*, *Relation* XXII., for confirmation of the Viceroy's statement.

[3] This allusion is to the voyage of the East India Company's ship *London* to Macao in 1635.

[4] A mite. See *ante*, note [3] on p. 65.

[5] This was a ship of the East India Company, between which and Courteen's Association the Viceroy does not discriminate.

RELATION XXII.

OUR DEPARTURE GOA AND ARRIVAL AT BATTACALA[1] IN EAST INDIA, WHERE WAS SETLED A FACTORY, *VIZ* :

Our Departure Goa : The Hollanders spake with us.

The 17th January Anno 1636/7[2]. In the Morning Wee sett saile From the Inner Roade of Goa[3], enterchaunging some farewell gunnes with the Fort and Galleones, soe stood to the Southward. The Dutch presently [immediately] wayed and came with us, soe saluted one the other with our Ordnance : No striking [dipping] off Flagges on Neither side. At Nightt Wee anchored all together, and the Next Day Wee stood backe againe With them towards Goa, the Mean tyme beeing spent in reading, translating and coppying his Majesties [Charles I.] lettres to the Generall of Battavia or Dutch Commaunders whereso[e]ver. The Originalls Were Delivered us againe[4]. They told us the Portugalles

[1] Bhatkal, a port 25 miles south of Honāvar (Onore), belonging to the Kelādi chiefs of Ikkeri. The full headline to this *Relation* in the MS. is "China Voiage outward bound From Goa unto Battacala in East India."

[2] The MS. has the date 1636 up to the 25th March. To avoid confusion, the year, as at present reckoned, is given throughout.

[3] The harbour of Goa, formed by the promontories of Bardez and Salsette, is divided by the Cabo into two anchorages, Agoada and Mormugão, the latter being Mundy's "Inner Roade."

[4] From the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30) we learn that Thomas Robinson and Captain Molton were "sent aboard the Admirall" with the King's letter to the Dutch "generalls, Comanders, &c." ; that the commander "enterteyned them freindlie," and "according to their request wrott an affirmation on the back side thereof, touching his receipt and perusall of the same. . . . The Admirall with others came aboard our shipps and had the like welcome." For a copy of King Charles's letter to the Dutch, see Appendix A. No. 6.

had killed them 5 Men, beesides hurt, receaving some shott in their Masts and tackling, and thatt they Were enordred to remayne in the roade untill May[1]: in thatt tyme to Doe their best to Dammage the Portugalles. They Will goe Near to hinder the Carracks returne For Portugall this yeare, and their greater vessells From going out or comming, butt as yett cannott Debarre their Frigatts thatt privilege, which is one of the Portugalls last refuge.

The 18th [*January* 1636/7]. In the evening Wee parted with the Hollanders, they returning to the roade of Goa and Wee to prosecute our voyage.

The 19th and 20th [*January* 1636/7]. Wee anchored att Nightt, the barge beeing sent to coast it along the shoare to Discover whatt Ports, Rivers, Creekes, baies, etts. Were there away, as allsoe to enquire and speake with the Country people therof, with other Matters.

Carware.

The 21th [*January* 1636/7]. Wee anchored among some small Ilands thwart of a faire large bay Named Carware[2]. Heere wee wooded. From the Iland and the Mayne, my selffe with others went uppe one of the hilles, From whence Wee mightt see a low Flatt Iland in the Codde[3] of the Bay, within which was an entraunce or straight which presently enlarged it selffe to a little sea, in some places aboutt 2 Mile broad, butt how farre it went uppe Wee could not Discerne. It had a spacious plaine on each side with Woodes and trees in sundry places. The Barge went on shore, butt could Not bee understood by the Country people, allthough they Were provided

[1] According to the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet*, "they were by Comission enjoyned to staie in Goa road till the 10th of Aprill to the intent that no shipp might passe for Portugall that yeare, and that the next yeare there would be a fleet of 16 sailes to that purpose."

[2] Kārwār in North Kanara, 50 miles south-east of Goa.

[3] An obsolete term for the inmost recess of a bay or inland sea. The "low Flatt Iland" is probably Devgad island, the largest of the cluster of islets known as the Oyster Rocks.

with linguists [interpreters], butt here None of them currant [understood]. Many small Ilands along the shoare hereaboutts.

The 23d [January 1636/7]. Wee came before Onore, a place of the Portugalls[1], about 21 leagues From Goa, Where lay 40 or 50 Frigatts laden with Rice bound for Goa.

The Cinamon Fleete in company with the Fleete of provisions bound for Goa.

From thence Wee came and Anchored under a small Iland to the Northward of Battac[a]la. Rightt ashoare lay aboutt 200 vessells, some within a point of a sand and some withoutt. Amongst these were 16 bigger vesselles with topmasts, beeing the Cinamon Fleete come from Zeiloan [Ceylon]: some few Frigatts of Warre For convoy, the rest laden with Rice and provision, bound all For Goa. They say they make 3 or 4 returnes yearly, only with provisiones and only For supply of the Iland of Goa.

Anchored before Bataacala Creeke.

Wee having Delivered them a lettre Directed to Don Phellippe Mascarennas[2], Captaine of the Castle of Bardesse[3], ett[s]., Wherin Wee advised him whatt wee heard From the Dutch[4], And receaving another letter From the Captaine of the Frigatts there to the Governour of Mangalore, an other place of the Portugalles [blank] leagues Southward[5], if soe wee mightt there

[1] Onore or Honāvar, headquarters of Honāvar *tāluk*, in North Kanara district, is 50 miles south-east of Kārwār. In the 16th and early 17th centuries it exported much rice. The Portuguese erected a fort there in 1505.

[2] Dom Filippe Mascarenhas became Viceroy of Goa in 1644.

[3] See *ante*, p. 44, *n.* [1].

[4] This letter (*O.C.* 1587), which contains details regarding the movements of the Dutch in addition to those given by Mundy, is printed in *English Factories*, 1634—1637, pp. 7—8.

[5] Mangalore in Mangalore *tāluk*, South Kanara district. The Portuguese seized the town in 1596.

chaunce to toutche, Wee sett saile and past a little Forward, Anchoring within a Mile of the shoare, before the going in to Battacala. This is the place I mentioned in the Forepart of this Journall, when wee mett with Babarautts Frigatts, From whome wee receaved some Pepper in exchaunge of a brasse gun found by Swally[1]. Captaine Weddell, then allsoe our Comaunder[2], wrote a lettre by him to the Naigue [*Nāyak*, chief] or King of the Country, advising him that hee would shortly come with shippes to his ports to settle a trade in his Country which is Now all ready in part performed. This place is aboutt 7 leagues From Onore.

Abstracte of part of the Month of January 1636/7.

17th. Sett saile From Goa in the Morning. Longitude from Goa.
18th. Wee parted From the Hollanders.
19th. Anchored att Nightt.
20th. Anchored att Nightt.
21st. Anchored and Wooded att Careware.
22nd. Anchored by Onore.
23rd. Anchored by Battacala[3].
24th. Anchored in the roade Neare the shoare.

[1] See vol. II. p. 316 and footnote for an account of Bābā Rāwat and the brass gun exchanged for pepper. The friendly relations between Bābā Rāwat and Courteen's factors were much resented by the Portuguese. See the Viceroy's letter of October 1637 at the end of this *Relation*.

[2] Captain Weddell in the *Jonas* commanded the fleet, with which the *Mary*, carrying Mundy as a passenger, sailed from Swalley in 1634.

[3] The *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30) gives further details under date the 23rd January: "We . . . came to Batacalla, and dispeeding our boat ashore to discover and learn what trade might be had in that place, Captaine Weddell haveing about 3 yeares since bene envited thether upon great hopes, the Sabandar [*shāhbandar*, harbour superintendent] or Customer of the Towne accompanied with the kings merchante came aboard the *Dragon* and gave us a friendlie welcome, with full assurance of all good entertainement, putting us in hope of a present quantitie of pepper for the dispatch of one of our small shipps, and this although they urged somewhat beyond truth, to the end that we might not goe sodenlie from their port, we have since (with some delaie) found to be reall, and what the isshue will be, time will produce to the undoubted profitt of successors.

Gon these 8 Daies From Goa to Battacala, some of Miles 114.

These 8 Daies wee had breezes, to say land turnes and Sea turnes, in the Morning off the shoare and att even From Sea[1].

Of our proceedings etts. att Battacala: A Contracte made and not performed.

A few Daies after our arrivall, Advice came From the King[2], who was certified of our beeing here, and a contracte was Made beetweene our Principalls and his officers to have a shippes lading of pepper, to Deliver 4 waightts of Lead For 3 of pepper[3]: butt shortly they beegan to Cavill, protracting Delivery, Demaunding part in Ryalls of 8^{tt}. as allsoe 10 or 12 per Cento more in the lead then was agreed For. Whereuppon, For redresse hereof as allsoe to procure and confirme a future trade here and an abiding in this Country, Mr Thomas Robbinson was enordred to proceed to the Court to treat with the king about the particulars aforementioned.

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[1] This is the usual phenomenon in tropical seas in fine dry weather such as occurs at this season. It is caused by the relative temperature of land and sea, the land being cooler at sunrise and hotter by sunset than the sea and the still air being drawn towards the warmest parts.

[2] See *infra* for a copy of this letter taken from *MS. Rawl.* A. 299, at the Bodleian Library. This MS. comprises, in addition to a copy of the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* and the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (which will be noted later), various Consultations, letters, etc., connected with the expedition chronicled by Mundy. No other copies of these documents, which I have styled *Courteen Papers*, appear to exist.

[3] The *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* adds (under date 27th January) that this arrangement included "customes and all charges," and that a letter and present were immediately sent "to the Kinge who liveth 3 daies jorney upp in the Countrie, who by his annswere was pleased to allowe what was done and to promise a grant of what we should in reason demand; and so with a present of goats, henns, rice, &c., welcomed us to his ports."

Extract from *Courteen Papers* (*MS. Rawl.* A. 299, fol. 188).

A coppie of a lettre from Beer Buddra Naige [Vīra Bhadra Nāyak] Kinge of Mallinar [Malnād][1], dated the 14th of February 1636 [1637], translated out of the Canara language into Portuguez and Englished.

By a lettre received from you I am informed of your safe arrivall and that you were invited to this port of Bata Calla longe since, and that you came in the waie of trafique, I have therefore enordred Mange Naigue[2] to take notice of all your merchandize and to weighe you out all the pepper that is to be procured at present, and have likewise received the presents which you sent me at your first arrivall in the port. Mange Naigue writes unto me that you desire much in the behalfe of your Kinge to hold amitie with this Countrie, which I am hartelie glad to understand, as your selfe hereafter shall perceive, for I shall most willinglie embrace your Kings freindshipp and shall cause to be putt into your hands aswell all the pepper as other merchandize of this Countrie, desiring likewise that you would bring me whatsoever raritie and good things of your Countrie.

I received your present according to your lettre and have likewise returned you such things as by a roll therewith sent will apeare.

Icary [*Ikkerī*] 14*th February* 1636 [1637].

Extract from the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30).

Further particulars of proceedings at Bhatkal.

10*th February* [1636/7]. Haveing concluded upon the shipp *Planter* to be dispeeded for Europe and she being fitted to that end, we beganne to land of our lead and to waie some small quantitie of pepper,

[1] For a note on Vīra Bhadra Nāyak and his kingdom, see p. 81.

[2] Mānjhī Nāyak. *Mānjhi* means properly a coxswain, head of a boat's crew, but the term is used also as an official title. In this case Mānjhī Nāyak signifies a chief officer, minister.

which comeing downe out of the Countrie very slowly by reason the king and the Portugalls have latelie bene at some difference, and thereupon that Comoditie was transported over land to Cambaia or elsewhere, nor is not at anie time brought thether but when the merchants are readie to shipp it awaie, the towne being of no defence to resist the Malabars or anie other invasive enemies. The Kings officers there, fearing our discontent upon their supposed slackness, which might turn to their prejudice if we should depart unsatisfied, they pretended divers soothing excuses and delaies, untill at last it was resolved that to understand the certainety of matters, Thomas Robinson should passe upp to the Court and treat with the king about our trade and residence there. In the meane time his Majesties Officer at Batacala came aboard the *Dragon* and requested in his Masters behalfe to be furnished with a piece of Ordnance, which was granted and referred to his owne election, and a Demiculverin out of the *Dragon* was for that purpose with all its apurtenances put ashore, the portraiture whereof was drawne out with its proportion and length and sent to the king, together with a present of Rich scarlett [broadcloth] and some other things, by Thomas Robinson, who being accompanied with Peter Mundaie and 2 English youths to attend them, departed from Baticala this present eveninge (21th), and the next night with some difficultie attained the height of the mounteynes of Ballaguate, arriving the second daie after (24th) at the Cittie of Itary, the seate of the king, the successe of whose Journey is by themselves thus breifly related[1].

Mr Robbinson sett forward to the King.

The 21th February [1636/7]. Mr Robbinson afforesaid, my selffe and other 2 English sett forward, and thatt evening wee lay att the townes end (1 mile), in a Pagode. It seemes they serve here to harbour passengers in their

[1] For Robinson's account of the proceedings at Ikkeri, see *infra*, after Mundy's narrative.

Cources round aboutt (like to the Saraes aboutt Guzaratt [Gujarāt]) as well as For Devotion[1].

The 22th [*February* 1626/7]. Wee Departed thence and came to Hadowlee, a towne some 6 miles from Battacala[2], and is even such another ruinated place, *viz.*, stone walles, Pagodes, etts; among [them] the old queenes[3] habitation (Castle like), the Country beeing taken from her by this Mans grandffather and ruinated.

A high Piller of Brasse.

Beffore one of the Pagodes standes a brasse colume or pillar, aboutt 8 yards in heightt besides the pedestall wheron it standes, which is of stone. The pillar may bee aboutt 17 or 18 inches Diameter, hollow within, the brasse aboutt ½ inche thicke[4].

The Mountaines of Ballagatt.

Wee Dyned a little withoutt the towne, and having rested a while, Wee ascended a high and steepy hill[5], aboutt 3 miles From the Foote to the toppe. This is part of thatt ridge of Mountaines thatt runnes all alongst these countries, called the Mountaines of Ballagatte[6], this beeing very wooddy with very faire high straightt timber trees[7] and Much thicketts, the habitation of

[1] Mundy means that they rested in the open porch (*mantapam*) of a temple (*kōil*), often used by travellers for that purpose

[2] Hādvalli is 11 miles north-east of Bhatkal. Its old name is Sanghtapur, and it was formerly a residence of the Vijayanagar kings.

[3] This is probably the "Queene of Baticola" mentioned by Linschoten in 1588 (Linschoten, ed. Tiele, II. 220—221) as contracting with the Portuguese to supply them with pepper. See *infra* (description of Bhatkal) for further remarks on the history of the place.

[4] Mundy is describing one of the pillars (*stambha*) usually found outside temples, probably in this case the *dhvaja-stambha* or flagstaff of a Shaiva (Hindu) temple.

[5] Hogavādi Pass.

[6] Bālāghāt, *i.e.*, the country above the passes. Mundy mistook this term for the name of a mountain range. The ridge that he crossed was the Sahyādri hills.

[7] There are fine forests of teak, blackwood, etc., in the Sahyādri hills, the trees being 80 to 150 ft. high, with fine clean stems 60 to 90 ft. high and 5 to 12 ft. in girth.

Wild beasts and Fowle. Of the latter Wee heard many unknowne and variable Note[s], especially one soe loud and shrill as I never heard the like. And Wee saw others Flying, as bigge as turtle Doves, having a very long slender taile with a tufft at the end of it, soe thatt itt appeared to us as though there had bin some thing Made Fast to his taile with a small string[1], as per this Figure[2].

Greatt Mists and Dewes.

Toward the toppe of the hill (5 miles) is a spring Making a little Rillett of Sweete Water, and on the toppe of all a Castle of Morter or Mudde walles. It Discends not presently [suddenly]; neither is it plaine, butt hilly, with pretty store of Water. Beetweene here they sow some Rice. Thatt night Wee lay under a tree, butt towards Morning there was such a Mist and Dew, Incident to the toppes of these hilles, some cause of the Flourishing greenesse and growth of trees uppon them, that ours, beeing Mooved with a little gale of Wynde, lett fall Droppes in such aboundance thatt itt resembled a pretty shower of Raine, soe thatt wee Were gladd to remoove, having the last Journey gon aboutt 11 Miles.

Pretty Tillage.

The 23d February 1636/7. Wee kept on our Journey over and among those smalle hills. This Morning Wee saw 5 or 6 Deare[3], butt I was told here breed No antelopes as in North India[4]; all the vallies as Wee came taken

[1] Mr. W. L. Sclater informs me that Mundy is describing the *Dissemurus paradiseus* or Racket-tailed Drongo, found in the forests of southern India. The outer feathers of the tail are much elongated and end in a racket-shaped widening. The plumage is black and the head tufted. See Oates, *Fauna: British Indian Birds*, I. 325.

[2] See Illustration No. 8.

[3] Probably the Spotted Deer, *Axis maculatus*, the native name for which is *chital*, at one time numerous both in N. and S. Kanara.

[4] By "antelope" Mundy seems to mean the Indian Antelope or Black Buck (Antelope, *Cervicapra*). It would not breed in, or be found, in hilly or wooded country.

uppe with Rice tillage, and Much of the skirtts of the hilles on either side cutt outt in levells or sundry Ascentts like steppes one above another, sometymes to the Number off 40 or 50, each resembling a pretty little greene Meddow and lying in thatt Manner. It Was a Delightsome and pleasauntt prospectt, For Rice as itt growes Must bee covered with Water, which the sides of the hills cannot hold, except they bee cutt and cast in levells or plaines as aforementioned. The Water comming From the higher ground Discends from one to another, soe thatt when the first is served, it is lett run in to the 2d, soe to the 3d, and Downe along to all the rest as they ly in order. Wee Dyned among the rockes of a small River by a large poole Made by the Water therof. Hitherto. aboutt 8 Miles.

The Palme tree on whose leaves they here write with Iron bodkins [*stylus*].

Hereaboutts wee saw a sort of Palme trees, whose leaves in this Country are used in steed of paper to Write uppon. It is like the Cocotree in stemme and leaves, butt the Cocotree, the Datetree and sundry other off thatt kind off leafe and body (as Farre as I could see) have onely one stemme each. This had many towards the toppe, comming out lik soe many boughes, each with a tufft of leaves. I never saw any before, except one att Goa which they there call Palma de Matto or Wild Palme. Neither indeed Did I thinck there [had] bin any such[1].

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[1] Sir David Prain identifies this tree with the indigenous *Hyphaene indica*, the only Indian genus of Palms which is normally branched. It is recorded from Goa and its existence was only definitely established a few years ago. Therefore Mundy's reference to it is especially interesting. The expression " Palma de Matto " apparently signifies bushy palm (Port. *mato*, a place full of shrubs or bushes), but Mundy seems to have intended his description to apply to *Palma brava*, wild palm, the " Palmum brama " of Della Valle (ed. Grey, II. 291) and the " Palmeras-Bravas " of Thevenot (Pt. III. p. 90). See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Brab.

No. 9. A Pepper Garden.

A Pepper gardein.

The manner of the growing of the pepper plantt : The Berry.

Thatt afternoone Wee passed through the same Manner of Countrie, and by the way wee came to some pepper gardeins, which they keepe, Manure [cultivate] and Dresse For their benefitt, and in this Country are after this Manner : First a greatt grove of tall, smalle betelnutt trees, which are orderly sett in ranckes. Att the Foote of these trees they sett the pepper plantt, which groweth uppe about the said tree to the heightt of 10 or 12 Foote, Clasping, twyning and fastning it selff theron round about as the Ivy Doth the oake or other trees with us. They continue 10 or 12 yeare yeilding good pepper ; then they sett new plantts, soe I was told. This yeares Croppe was newly gathered, some of it then lying a Drying in the sunne ; yett were there a few clusters, both greene and ripe, left among the leaves on the plant. The berry when it is Ripe beecommeth ruby red and transparent cleare (I mean the substance about the kernell, otherwise greene), as bigge as small pease, sweet and hott in tast. The kernell of the said berry is the pepper indeed. The berry they putt to Dry in the sunne and then that outward reddish substance Drieth, Rivelleth [shrivels] and beecommeth black, in few Daies, as Wee now see it. Then is it ready to bee transported. It groweth in long Clusters, as if one should File uppe 4 or 5 Dozen off small buttones on a string as close as hee could. They are 2 or 3 inches in length[1]. The Manner of these pepper gardeins I have here underneath sett by Figure[2].

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[1] This is an accurate description of a pepper garden. The black pepper vine, *Piper nigrum*, is planted at the foot of the betel palm when the trees are 13 years old. The vine bears in six or seven years and lives for about twenty-five.

[2] See Illustration No. 9.

An Areca or Betele-nutt tree : The Betele nutt : The Paan leafe.

[Mundy's explanation of Illustration No. 9.]

A signiffieth the truncke of the Betele nutt tree[1], Where in a larger forme is Demonstrated in whatt manner the pepperplant groweth uppe about it, with the Forme of itts leaves and Fruite.

B is an Arrecca or betelnutt tree, with the Fruite growing outt aloft in the trunck or stemme. The nutt it selffe, when it is ripe in the huske, is of an orenge coullour, much bigger then a great Wallnutt. The kernell (which is only estimated) is a little bigger then a Nuttmegg, the inside greyish with white veynes. This is thatt thatt is eaten with Paan[2] and is used in Most of the easterne parts of the World. The paan leafe is like the pepper leafe and groweth uppe somwhatt after thatt manner, requiring a support.

This evening [23rd February] wee came to a bigge River, named Holibogull, running Nere a towne called Aneela[3]. Wee lodged at the fartherside off the River in a pagoda[4] aboutt 10 Miles From our Dyning place ; in all to Day 18 Miles.

Anthilles.

The 24th February [1636/7]. Wee came to a good tanck and there rested awhile, it beeing some 4 Miles From our last lodging. In our way Wee saw sundry straunge Anthills of 3 or 4 Foote highe, Full of little

[1] The Betel-palm, *Sopāri*, *Areca catechu*.

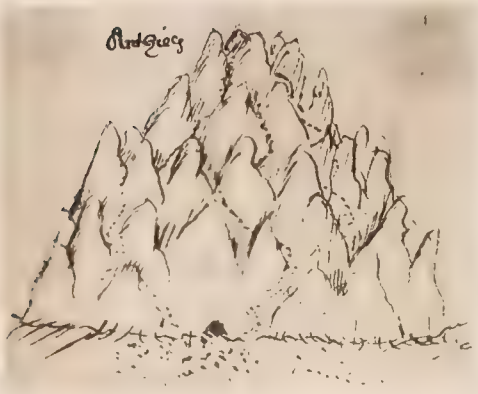
[2] *Pān*, the Betel-leaf vine, *Piper betel*. See vol. II. pp. 96—97.

[3] Mundy crossed the Sharāvatī river at Hallibāgal and seems to have confused the name of the river with the name of the village. His "Aneela" appears to be the same place as Della Valle's "Ahineli, Ahinala," identified by his editor with the modern Honelli, which is clearly a wrong identification for Avinhalli (Avinhully). See Della Valle, ed. Grey, II. 234, 244.

[4] Della Valle also "lodg'd in the Porches of a Temple of Idols" (*op. cit.* p. 234).

No. 13. A High Stone Pillar.

No. 11. A Strange Office.



No. 10. Anthilles.

No. 12. The cheifest Image of their Pagodes.

spires From the Foote to the toppe resembling afarre offe the Modell of some structure or building. They are of tempred clay, hardned with the sunne, able to keepe outt Raine (I conceave), some 2 or 3 yards in Compasse and butt one entraunce. Wee came by while some were att worcke. I know not how they temper their clay, except with Dew, it beeing then early Daies[1]. I say, Wee finding them very busy building and repayring their habitation, left them at their worcke and came away. They are somwhatt according to the Designe above[2], hollow within.

Eccaree[3], the Kings Towne and Court.

From the aforesaid tancke wee came unto Icaree, the Kings towne and Court, is [? it] beeing som 4 miles From the tancke. Our course From Battacala hither Nearest hand east by Judgement, and from here awayes, as Farre as wee could Descry or extend our sightt towards the East, the Country resembled England For the lovely, lowly round rising hills.

The Kings setting in State: The Manner.

The 25th February [1636/7]. Wee were admitted to the presence of Beere Buddra Naigue, king of Mollinare[4]

[1] Mundy is describing a nest of White Ants (*Termites*, in Kanarese, *chedalu*). He seems to have been unaware that they work the clay for their habitations with their jaws.

[2] See Illustration No. 10.

[3] Ikkeri, in the Shimoga district of Mysore, was the seat of the Kelādi chiefs who rose to importance in 1560 and subsequently transferred their capital to Ikkeri. In 1639 the capital was removed to Bednur. Ikkeri is now an insignificant village of under 200 inhabitants and is not shown on the *Indian Atlas* sheet of 1892—1899, though it appears in capitals as an important place in the sheet of 1827. There is a remarkable difference in the detailed place nomenclature hereabouts between the sheets of 1827 and 1892.

[4] Vīra Bhadra Nāyak (1629—1645), grandson of Venkatappa Nāyak who threw off the yoke of the Vijayanagar rulers. See Della Valle's account of his journey from Onore (Honāvar) to Ikkeri and his description of Venkatappa Nayak and his Court (Della Valle, ed. Grey, II. 216—284). By "Mollinare" Mundy means Malnād, the hill district. See Foster, *English Factories*, 1637—1641, p. 5 *n.*, for this identification and for further information regarding the chiefs of Ikkeri.

(For thatt is his title). It beeing a great Festivall of the Jentues[1] (himselffe one), hee sate in state, soe having kissed his hands and Delivered our present, Hee caused us to come uppe and sitt by him. I Dare say there is hardly such another grosse proportionable Man to bee Found in all his owne Dominiones, off aboutt 30 yeares of age. Hee hath many Wives and Weomen; Never a Child. Hee sate after the Indian Manner, With Wellnigh a pecke of sweet Flowers strung and hung over his Necke and shoulders[2], some as belts, others as collars. These at tymes Were taken away, and others Fresh broughtt, as it were every quarter or halffe hower; his Neck and armes loden with ritch Ornamentts of gold sett with pretious stones. One his eares hung great pearles, as bigge as pretty [fine] hazelnutts

His Nobles.

Hee sate foremost on an elevated place like our theaters or stages, his greatt ones beehind or within him, all besett allsoe with Jewells, Chaines, collars, braceletts, armebands, etts. of gold, with stones off great price. Their haire (which they lett grow) is bound uppe in a fine large handkercheife hanguing in a lumpe or bunch one one side of their heads (as in the figure of the Mistmaker over the leafe[3]). This is the usuall fashion From the king to the common Man; the Weomen in the same Manner butt withoutt a Cloath; soe heare the Men Wear kercheiffes and the Weomen None[4].

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[1] Shivrātra or Mahāshivrātri (the Night of Shiva), a festival of great importance to the Lingāyats, to which sect the Kelādi chiefs belonged. It is held on the 28th Māgh (end of February or beginning of March). It consists of the purification of the *lingas*, winding up with sacrifices and an all night vigil with reading of "*Purānas*" in honour of Shiva. No doubt, in addition, the chief held an audience in state during the festival.

[2] In the ordinary Indian fashion on state occasions.

[3] See Illustration No. 11.

[4] See Della Valle, ed. Grey, II. 248, for the "caps" and "turbants" worn by men at Ikkeri when he was there in 1623.

His Dauncing and Singing Weomen.

The king and his Nobles sitting in the Manner afforesaid, all the rest of the people stood on the lower ground on each side. Within them againe on either side stood Dauncing and Singuing Weomen off all ages, with ritch and Massy (I may say gold) girdles, Jewells, etts., there [? these] beeing the beautifullest (it may bee presumed) that this Countrie affords, and For their lineamentts not to bee contemned, as not inferiour to any off other countries, wanting only our Coullour, which is supplied with a good Durable browne with some appearance off red among. However, they adorned and Well became the place. Beetweene all Was left a good space For the Daunces, shewes, etts., which were various; his eares perpetually enterteyned with Noise, as Drummes, pipes, singing, etts.

Strange Congratulations.

Moreover, every Foote [incessantly] some bramane [Brāhman] or other From among the rest thatt were somwhatt Near him Would bee making acclamationes, with as loud a voice as possibly hee could. And others, rather then hee should want Noise, would whoope and hallow outright, withoutt any articulation att all. These, I conceave, are blessings, praises, congratulationes[1]. This was performed in one of his gardein hou[s]es. Soe after wee had sate a while, it beeing then no tyme of businesse, hee licensed our Departure, causing us first to bee invested with Pammerins (a kind of a fine, thin cloath worne in India in lieu of Cloakes and Mantles)[2]; and soe wee went to our house appointed.

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[1] Mundy probably mistook the reading of "*Purānas*" in a loud monotone for "acclamationes."

[2] See vol. II. p. 218 (where Mundy spells the word "Pummering") for the derivation of this term.

A present sent us From the King.

The next Day was sent us in a present of provisiones (according to these Countries custome), as sheepe. hennes, Rice, Fruites off sundry sorts, wherof many I had nott seene before

The King invited us to Supper : our Furniture and our Fare.

The 28th off February [1636/7]. The King invited us to supper, Where our table-Cloath and Dishes were of plantaine leaves sowed together. Wee had att least 20 severall sorts of Achare [*āchār*], to say, pickled Fruits, as Mangos, Cardamum, greene pepper, etts., to relish Meates, As wee use olives, Capers, Cowcumbers, etts. In our Dishes Wee had Milk, both sweet and sower, and sirruppes of severall sorts. Rice wee had Dressed in sundry manners, all spred in Divers percells on the plaine leaves, as Was the achare. The King himselffe sate by us with a rod in his hand, pointing to this or thatt hee would have us eate, beeing Desirous (it seemes) Wee should tast of all. Our Drinck was such as hee himselff Drancke, even perfumed Water.

Strange accommodation and the reason of it.

This was thatt Kingly banquett, Wherin was greatt variety, all though there were Neither table Nor stooles, trencher nor Napkin, knives nor spoones, Fish nor Flesh, Wine nor any strong Drincke (the greatest Want of all). For you must understand our Meat [food] was on a stone or brick bench. Wee sate on the ground. They neither eat Flesh nor Fish, Nor Drinck strong Drincke. Beesides, our toutching any of their Implements is odious to them, and thatt vessell, etts., held uncleane. And these are the reasons Why Wee were soe accomodated as you have before heard.

The King gave us his Firmaen[1]. Our Dismission and leave to returne to Battacala againe.

After supper hee gave us a Firmaen to build a house att Battacala, With permission of trade in his Country, telling us hee would give order to his officers there to agree with us Favourably concerning the Former Contract. Soe againe giving us Serpaus[2], *viz.*, some guifts of Lynnen, licensing us to returne to Battacala againe, Wee tooke our leaves and Went home to our house.

Fighting of Elephant and Buffaloes: A Machine of timber.

In this Interim the King had his Fighting of Elephantts, buffaloes, etts. The Manner of the Former is sett Downe in Fo: 54 of this booke[3]. There Was allsoe in a spatious place before their Cheife Dewra [*deurā*, temple] or pagode A Fabricke or Machine of exceeding greatnesse and excellent Workmanship in Carving, itt beeing of Wood and stood on 6 greatt Wheeles, each 9 or 10 Foote high. On this Fabricke Were added long poles, bambooes and great hoopes, all which was covered over with coullored Callicoes, resembling one of the towers of their Dewraes or Pagodes and mightt well compare with it for heightt and bignesse. In sundry compartmentts therof were placed Men or Children, and in the others Images. Soe this engine by 2 good Cables and a Multitude of people was Drawne through the Streetes, and was performed the Day before wee arrived, butt the Structure remayned there entire may Daies after; as allsoe of 2 other ugly Figures,

[1] *Farmān*, signed order, royal grant.

[2] *Saropā*, a robe of honour. It is interesting to note that the gift of the full suit (*sar-o-pā*, from head to foot) of Persia and further north has become a gift of cloth by the time the custom reached Southern India.

[3] See vol. II. pp. 127—128.

Drawne allso by people to encounter together: the Action obsceane and ridiculous[1].

Greatt Store of smalle Swyne.

Hogges, sowes, pigges, etts., greatt store going upp and Downe Streetes, butt many of them of soe smalle a size as I never saw the like, For the sowes thatt had pigges[2] seemed rather to bee the Pigges of some other Sow For their littlenesse.

Description of Eecaree with some Particularities therof.

The towne or Citty of Icaree is very greatt, with many spatious Streetes, bazares, etts. places. The houses generally of tempred Morter, low, with one Floore, commonly striped on the outside white and Red, as hanguings are painted with us in Drincking houses. There are severall great tanckes, Wherof one very Costly Now building. Few Pagodes[3]. The weomen attired after the Guzaratt Manner, their haire excepted, which they Wear on the one side as aforementioned[4]. Coaches such as they have att Suratt[5], Costly Palanquines and ritche quitasoles[6]; this latter much used here among the greater sort.

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[1] A fair description of the processional car (*rath*) attached to every Hindu temple of importance in Southern India for the purpose of the annual procession of the god through the town or village to which the god is attached. Compare Della Valle's description of the "Carr" or "Charriot" that he saw at Ikkeri in 1623, with its "two great wooden statues . . . one of a Man, the other of a Woman [Shiva and Pārbatī]" (Della Valle, ed. Grey, II. 260).

[2] Mundy is using the term pig in its proper sense as the young of the hog and the sow.

[3] Compare Della Valle's description of Ikkeri in 1623 (Della Valle, ed. Grey, II. 244—245, 250—251).

[4] See *ante*, p. 82. See also Della Valle, ed. Grey II. 257—258, for a description of female attire in Ikkeri in 1623.

[5] See vol. II. p. 189.

[6] Port. *quita-sol*, umbrella. See vol. II. pp. 126, 195.

A Strange Office.

Att our Comming away came Divers of the Kings officers and servants to Demaund some gratuity, as is the Custom in these Countries When any receave any Favours From the[i]r Kings, lords or Masters, and are importunate and will hardly bee denied; among the rest one who sometymes attendeth aboutt the King, carrying a skynne full of water which hee letts goe through a smalle pipe on his Fingers, which by him beeing squeezed or compressed, issues with a greatt Force, and striking against the Naile of his thumb or Finger is by thatt Meanes soe Dispersed thatt it resembles a Mist or a smalle shower of Raine, hardly to bee Discerned, butt the Moisure and coolenesse is easily Felt, soe thatt his Majesty May call for raine and have it at his pleasure, which is most likely in tyme of heatts[1].

Our Departure Eccaree.

The 28th off February [1636/7]. Wee returned homeward, the First nightt too our old lodging by the River of Hadowlee [Hādvalli], I say, Hollibogull[2]. The first of Marche to Hadowlee, 22 miles, and the 2d Ditto unto our house att Battacala, 7 Miles More; in all from Icarree hither 37 Miles by my computation[3]. Here the[y] reckon itt 6 gawes, every gau 4 corse of India of the largest, which is 1½ mile each[4].

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[1] This is a good description of the action of a bheesty (*bahishtī*), the universal watercarrier of India, with his mussuck (*mashk*) used for a cooling spray at a hot S. Indian Court.

[2] See *ante*, p. 80.

[3] For the outward journey Mundy's reckoning is as follows:—

Bhatkal to the outskirts of the town .	1 mile.
Outskirts of Bhatkal to Hādvalli .	6 miles.
Hādvalli to top of Hogvādi Pass .	5 ,,
Hogvādi to Hallibāgal . . .	18 ,,
Hallibāgal to Ikkeri . . .	8 ,,
Total	38 miles.

[4] Marāthi, *gau*, an ancient measure of distance, varying from 4 to 9 miles, still preserved in S. India and Ceylon.

Extract from the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30).

Thomas Robinson's account of the visit to Ikkeri.

Comeing to Itary [Ikkeri] in the afternoone, we were mett and enterteyned by an antient gentleman who is master of the kings horse and whose Sonne is Register [secretary] at Baticola. He invited us to his house where we supped and lodged that night, the king being a mourner for the death of his nurse (buried that daie) and so not to be spoken with; but early in the morninge we had a house apointed for us whether, upon our entrance, were sent provisions of sheepe, hens, rice, &ca by the kinge, and after dinner wee were called to the pallace where was an extraordinary shewe purposely prepared for our enterteynement with a tragicall representation of some antient history of those parts, as also sundrie dances both of men and women [Shivrātra Festival].

Being aproched, we made our sumba[1] or reverence to the King, and Thomas Robinson, laying the letters of Creditt which he brought upon his head, did presentlie deliver them unto him, and then both he and Peter Munday, haveing kissed his hand, were willed to sitt downe upon a large Carpett about 2 yards distant from himselfe, who satt in very great state with most of his nobilitie about him in a most grave and reverent manner far beyond the ordinary port of these heathen princes.

Then we brought in our present and lait it before him and delivered him the draught of the great gunne, wherewith hee expressed himselfe highlie contented, and with a royall promise of his absolute firmana to all our demands, investing us after the Countrie manner with certaine slight clothes, dismissed us for the present, accompanied home to our house with divers of his people.

The next daie he sent us word to have all our

[1] Also "sumbra" (Malay *sembah*), a salutation. See Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 307 and footnote.

messages and demands drawn out into the Language of the Countrie, promising us audience the morrow followinge. This we procured forthwith to be done and then began to make waie to his cheife secretary and prime persons about him, whom we presented with such things as for that purpose we had brought with us, by which meanes wee had soone caught all this Court Covey in our pursenett, they promising and indeed (which is rare) performinge whatsoever could be expected, so that, according to his Majesties word and our own wish, we were called to Court in the eveninge (27th) and brought into a private Chamber to the great wonder of all those presente, being accompanied with his choisest privadoes.

Wee supped with greate varietie of cheere after the Bramenes manner (who eate nothing that hath life), himselfe with a longe wand in his hand reachinge from dishe to dish and enviteinge us to tast therof. After supper he firmed [signed] his grant to our demands and sent it to the governour of Bati Calla by ourselves, the Contents whereof, together with the somme of our whole message followethe.

1. After the cheife cause of our Comeinge, which was to render him thancks for his many favours and to desire the Continuance thereof accordinge as he should finde us to Complie with our promises.

2 In the next place we desired a plott of ground and materialls to build with and to be supplied for our money with workemen and Laborers.

3. We certefied him what benifitt accrewed to the Mogull by our nation trading at Surratt and that the like or greater might be brought to this place if Clothe and other Comodities may be here had at reasonable rates.

4. Wee desired to be informed what quantities of pepper maie be had here yearlie and what Cloth, lead and other Comodities of our Countrie he would take of for the same in exchange.

5. That seeing we come not hether with our famelies to plant or make conquest in his or anie other princes dominions, nor bring with us any friers

to reduce [seduce] his people from their religion and Customes, he would be pleased to take into his princely consideration that we might be licenced to plant some force on shore for our defence against the portugalls, on whose freindshipp we could not relie, which if at anie time he suspected, wee knowe his power sufficient to race [*sic* ? raze] in a moment, for wee have noe Citties nor soldiers in India to support and supplie us to contest with princes as doe the Portugalls, our intents being only traficque and merchandize, as may apeare in that the space of 40 yeares the English would never plant nor erect anie, though they had manie oportunities; And [though] by the abuses offred us by the Portugalls, Ormus was taken from them by our now present Admirall, we freelie rendred it upp to the kinge of Persia, the right lord thereof[1].

6. We desired to knowe what he required either out of England or out of China

7. And lastlie, we craved his firmana for our accord.

To each of these perticulers he answered as follows.

1. Our thanks he accepted and assured us of all kinde usage, protesting that he doubted not of our honorable performance in what we should promise.

2. He granted us by his pattent a large plott of ground lying very Comodiously by the river side to build us a house, the ruyned parts whereof will aford us squared stone enuffe for that purpose, and moreover, in the same patent he hath given us timber, of which there is no want, and all materialls, we paying onlie for laborers hire, which in these parts is very cheape.

3. He seemed very sensible of the benifitt which the port of Suratt had gained by the trade of the English and promised to endeavour his best for the bringing in of weavers &c. into his Countrie,

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For the capture of Ormuz from the Portuguese by the Persians, assisted by Weddell, see vol. II. p. 303, footnote.

of the effecting whereof in a short time he is very confident.

4. For pepper he assured us that we might finde yearlie betweene 1500 and 2000 Candills in that port, besides the trade of the whole cost, each Candill conteyninge about 4 kintalls Portuguez[1], and that he would both incorage his subjects in the manuringe [cultivating] of the trees which of late, in the dead times of trade, they have neglected, and would likewise publish an edict throwgh all his Countrie that all the pepper should be for us and none to be exported either by sea or land. For Cloath, Lead, Corall or any other rarities out of Europe, he will take them of in barter of pepper and paie us the overplus in money.

5. He is sensible of the honnour and valor of our Nation in surprising of Ormus and other their exploits in India and will be all waies ready to assist and protect them in his Dominions against whomsoever, adding farther that his Countrie is ours, wherein for our defence and Content we may doe what we shall thincke fitt.

6. From England and China he desireth all rarities, for which we shall receive satisfaction to our owne content, but Cheifelie (and which for the future we have promised him) horses from Persia and Arabia, to which end a shipp from that port may yearlie be sent thither in September or October to returne againe in March followinge, or sooner, and to good benifitt.

7. Lastlie, he desired to see those marchants who were to live in his Countrie, with whom he promised to Contract both for the premises and for whatsoever else in season they should desire, and to grant them his absolute firmana, enterchangeablie subscribed on both parties, which is also performed. And so we tooke our leaves and were with singular demonstration of good affection, dismissed.

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[1] The *khandi*, candil, candy, was 20 *man*, and this passage shows that the *man* as measured in Kanara was then about 20 lbs., which is what one might expect.

Extracts from *Courteen Papers* (*MS. Rawl.* A. 299, fols. 188—189).

A second lettre from the Kinge [of Bhatkal].

By a lettre received from you I understand of your good health, of which I am right gladd. I have enordred Mange Naigue that he presentlie out of hand weigh you out 300 Candees of pepper, and for the other 200, it shall be in due time in September next delivered to your Agent that remaines at Bata Calla. I have likewise enordred the governor of Bata Calla that hee apoint you a warehouse to laie upp the 250 Candees of lead which I understand you have landed.

And likewise that he see to the delivery of the 300 Candees pepper in trucke of the lead which you are to deliver at the rate of 22½ pago[das] the Candee. And for the overplus arising from the price of the pepper, 7½ pago. upon the Candee, I have enordred Mange Naig to buy Comodities of you for it, if you can agree on the price, or else money.

Touching the procuring of weavers etc., which you sollicited, they dwell not in my Countrie, but I will envite them to come from whence they are, and will cause you to be served with cloth of my Countrie here, such as you desire to buy, and will also deliver you all my pepper every yeare according to this price agreed.

If you bring good horses of Persia or Arabia, I will buy them and paie you in pepper.

Likewise, if you bring Corall, silke, pearle, or anie other good Comodities of value, I will paie you for them in pepper and money.

Touching a house to dwell in and warehouses for your goods and a wharf, I have written to the governour of Bata Calla to furnish you with materialls, you only paying the workmens charge.

He is also enordred to apoint you a buriall place for your dead.

You write to me how some base people had misinformed mee of your nation, but I knowe and believe that you are grave persons, and if anie

man shall speake evill of you unto me, I promise you for my part not to give Creditt to them.

All things elce I have referred to Mange Naige and he shall informe you in perticuler.

Icary primo Marcy 1636 [1637].

A third letter from the Kinge.

Since your being in Bata Calla, I have by your lettres and messenger understood all your news and am very glad to understand of your healths and intent to live in my Countrie, being such noble and grave persons.

Touching what you write to me concerning a house in Bata Calla and the trade of pepper, I have already given order to the Governor to accomodate you; and for the pepper I will yearlie deliver it to you and have given Comandment for the present that all that can be brought downe shall be weighed unto you. Touchinge trade I have also written you in perticuler what I desire, by which you maie informe yourselves what to bring or send from your Countrie, the comodities whereof you may bring into this port and also shipp anie the goods of my Countrie as is usuall amongst merchants with all content.

And whereas I desire manie horses of Ormus, whosoever shall bring them, I will cause him to be well satisfied either with pepper or money.

Your messenger here told me that the time of the yeare was now past and that the ships were to goe for China and other parts, but the next yeare I might be served; whereupon I have given order to provide you with rice, etc. for the ensuinge yeare.

The Portugalls tell me they would faine see anie merchandize or good things come from the English, but doe not you esteeme their pratinge.

Herewith I send you a present according to the rolle, etc.

Icary 12 *Marcy* 1636 [1637].

Concordant cum Lusitanica versione. THO: ROBINSON.

Sicknesse and Mortalitie in the whole Fleete, especially in the *Sunne* and *Planter*.

Att our arrivall [at Bhatkal] Wee understood thatt since our Departure thence very strong pestilentiall feavers [malaria] had bin in the Fleete, especially aboard the *Sunne* and our shippe *Planter*, Soe thatt Many Died therof. Thatt Morning Word was broughtt thatt our boatswaine was Dead, and Within an houre after came tidings thatt Mr John Hill[1] was Departed this life.

Aboutt 80 persons dead in the Fleet since our comming From England.

I say that Wee have allready lost outt of our little shippe *Planter* Most off our principall officers, *viz.*, the Master and boatswaine aforementioned, the Surgeon, Cooper, boateswaines mate, our Armourer, all our quarter Masters (I thincke). I say all these and others have beene buried in 10 Monthes outt of the said shippe. The *Sunne* hath lost aboutt 30, and in all the whole Fleete to this Day Near uppon Fourescore, the sicknesse yett continuing. God in his Mercy aswage itt.

Mr Vanworthy[2] Principall att Battacala, with Assistantts, etts.

Mr Vanworthy [Vernworthy] was appointed prin-

[1] John Hill was master of the *Planter* and son-in-law of Captain Molton, one of Courteen's merchants (see *ante*, p. 20). By his will, dated in the Downs just before the fleet sailed for India, John Hill appointed his wife "Katren" executrix and his two daughters "Kateren and Susan" legatees. On the 1st March 1637, when in the "road of Battacalla," he desired his father-in-law to take possession of "his desk wherein was treasure, and the key was delivered to him in presence of Edward Hall [Captain of the *Planter*] and Christopher Parre." On his return to England Captain Molton took out letters of administration of John Hill's effects, on the 14th February 1638, on behalf of Katherine Hill, a minor, "daughter of deceased" (*P.C.C. Wills*, 19 *Lee*).

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 21. From the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30) we learn that a consultation

cipall in the New Factory here on shoare[1]; And For Assistants, *viz.*, Mr John Fortune[2] 2d, Mr George Wye[3], our purser, 3d; Sir [*sic*, ? Signor] Peter van Dam[4] a Dutch youth, steward; with others, as Surgeon, Cooke,

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was held on the 3rd March 1637 "for the apointment of a Cheife and assistants to reside on shore, by which Mr Anthony Vernworthie (from whose habilities malice itselfe cannot detract) was ordeyned principall and willinglie embraced the hopefull imployment, protestinge that his performance therein to the benifitt of his imployers should be of more esteeme to him (being well accepted of them) then the certainty of whatsoever gaine by the after designed voyage; but he especially expressed his Content after his returne from the Court, haveing well informed himselfe of the kings noble disposition and perticipated of his present favours."

Vernworthy only enjoyed his position as Chief for about a month. He died on the 1st April 1637, and was buried at Bhatkal. His tomb, surmounted by a granite slab, still exists. The inscription (as given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (*Kanara*), xv. ii. 270) runs as follows:—"Here lieth the body of Ant: Vereworthy Marcht: Dec: 1: April. An: Dni Nri Christi Sal. Mundi MDCXXXVII Ant: Vereworthy 1637." Vernworthy's death is noted by Mundy in his Notes to this volume. Administration of the effects of the deceased factor was granted, on the 1st August 1639, to his mother's brother Humphry Goddard, and on the 6th December 1641 to his (illegitimate) daughter "Phillippa Martyn alias Vernworthie," the former administration being declared null and void (*P.C.C. Admons.*).

[1] For Vernworthy's Commission, see *infra*, end of this *Relation*.

[2] See *ante*, note[2] p. 22. John Fortune succeeded Vernworthy as Chief at Bhatkal and was murdered there a year later, in 1638, by Peter Van Dam. Mundy has an account of the tragedy in his Notes to this volume. Administration of John Fortune's goods was granted to his sister Ellen, the wife of Thomas Jones, on the 9th May 1642 (*P.C.C. Admons.*).

[3] George Wye died eleven days after Mundy left Bhatkal, on the 30th March 1637. His tomb is near that of Anthony Vernworthy and bears the following inscription:—"Here lyeth the body of Ge[o]rge Wye Marchant. Dec. xxx: March Anno Dni Nri Christ Salv: Mundi MDCXXXVII 1637. Geo: Wye" (*Bombay Gazetteer, loc. cit.* See also Foster, *English Factories*, 1637—1641, p. 6 footnote).

[4] Peter Van Dam, who became Second at Bhatkal on the death of Vernworthy "haveing not his will for wyne or otherwise" (according to Mundy's Notes), compassed the death of the surviving factors by "binding pillowes to their mouthes and faces" while they slept. John Fortune "died therof and the rest in great Danger." Van Dam fled to Goa, where he was apprehended and hanged. The Dutch, who reported this event in a letter to the Dutch E. I. Co. of the 24th September 1638, remarked that Van Dam had studied at the University of Leyden (*Hague Transcripts, Translations*, 1st series, vol. xi. No. 558). Administration of the goods of Peter Van Dam was granted, on the 3rd December 1642, to John Belcampe, widower, the husband of "Susan Stephens alias Van Dam" (*P.C.C. Admons.*). For Mundy's comments on the murder and the legacy to which Van Dam did not succeed, see his Notes to this volume.

etts.[1] attendantts. The 3 first named went uppe to the King, who Desired to see those thatt were to remaine in his Country, where by him they were lovingly receaved and their reasonable Demaunds granted[2]; And soe they returned againe to Battacala, of whome having taken our leaves, wee came aboard[3]. Butt before Wee part hence, I will adde hereto a Few lines concerning this place.

Description of Battacala

Battacala [Bhatkal] hath a very Narrow shallow Inlett thatt runneth uppe aboutt 1½ mile to the towne, not capable of any vessells of any burthen[4]. In former tyme it seemes this towne hath bin a more flourishing place, as appeares by the Multi[tu]de of ruined walles of hewen squared stone, Dried Wells, the many Dewraes or Pagodes, the latter yett remayning entire, Wherin are stones of 6 or 7 yards long and 5 broad, all artificially hewen. The Foundation, pavement, walles, covering or rooff all of the same stone, allthough not all so bigge, butt generally very large buildings of incredible continuance, the stone beeing very solidd, off a blewish coullour, wherof some wee saw att Goa. The other ruines and buildings are of the ordinary sort they use att Goa, beeing softer and off a reddish coullour [laterite][5].

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[1] According to the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet*, "an Apothecary, a Joyner and a smith" completed the establishment.

[2] See "A third letter from the Kinge" above.

[3] From the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30) we learn that Vernworthy, Fortune and Van Dam went to Ikkeri on the 6th and returned to Bhatkal on the 15th March, when "we instantlie putt ashore what was requisite and we could spare for the furtherance of those afaires, and so Comitting them to gods good assistance, wee sett saile, the time of the year pressing us hard."

[4] Bhatkal is 3 miles up the river from the sea. There is an awkward bar at the mouth with only about 8 ft. of water at high tide.

[5] Bhatkal flourished greatly from the 14th to the 17th century as an outlying dependency of the Vijayanagar rulers. It was a trading centre for sugar, rice and pepper to Goa and Ormuz. The Portuguese had a factory there in 1505, but transferred it to Goa on the capture of that place in 1511. During the period of its prosperity numerous

The Cheifest Image of their Pagodes.

In the most innermost and secrett roomes of these Pagodes are certaine Images with lightts before them, into which they hardly suffer straungers to enter, allthough I saw one Forsaken and neglected, the rest questionlesse no otherwise. The principall Image and in the cheifest place is the Image of a Woman Cutt outt in stone, sitting Crosse legged, this being Naked, but Doubtless the others are Cloathed[1]. Such commonly allso are these in India as Farre as I could see, and Neither here Nor in India was there one Figure in 10000 thatt was made with a beard.

High Stone Pillars standing before their Pagodes[2].

Each off these Pagodes have before their entraunce a very high, faire Pillar of the said blue stone. The Pillar only may conteyne 8 or 9 yards in length, beesides the spedestall [*sic*] and addittion on the toppe, where is a little artificiall arched place, and in it some Image placed, as per Figure No. 2[3]. Among the rest of their Pagodes there is one of extraordinary Worckmanshippe, Carved in stone above and beneath, round aboutt, both

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temples were erected in Bhatkal, chiefly of black basalt. On the break up of the Vijayanagar Empire and the consequent rise of the Kelādi chiefs of Ikkeri and the Wodeyar chiefs of Karikal, about 1560, there seems to have been considerable confusion in Bhatkal for nearly a century (the rulers are described as "queens" from about 1542 to 1600), and this may account for the ruined condition of comparatively newly built temples in Mundy's time. See *Bombay Gazetteer* (*Kanara*) XV. ii. 271—275.

[1] See Illustration No. 12. Mundy is really describing an image of a man, a Jaina Tirthankara, or sanctified teacher. They are never clothed.

[2] Here is a marginal note :—" Such was that of brasse at Hadowlee aforementioned." See *ante*, p. 76.

[3] See Illustration No. 13. All temples in S. India have pillars (*stambha*) attached, which to a certain extent describe the temples themselves. Thus the Jain pillars bear a lamp; Buddhist, emblems or animals on the top; Vaishnava (Hindu), Hanuman (monkey) or Garuda (bird); Shaiva (Hindu), a flag. Mundy's illustration is the *stambha* of a Vaishnava temple.

within and withoutt, beeing sundry stones, many wherof are such as Arretines postures are reported to bee[1].

The houses att Battacala.

The towne may bee some 2 myles in compasse, scattring, stragling, Soe intermingled with high trees thatt overtoppe their low houses thatt when one is a little withoutt itt hee shall see nothing att all of itt[2], and without those trees there would bee bad living For heatt. There is only one good house, builtt For the King somwhatt after the Guzaratt [Gujarāt] Manner. The rest little low thatched houses, the Eaves within a yard or 4 Foot of the ground, their Floores all beedawbed with a Mixture of Cowdung which smelleth not ill[3].

The inhabitants Jentues and Moores.

They are generally here Jentues or Hindooes of sundry sects. Here are allsoe many Moores or Mahometanes who have a small Mosche in the towne.

Writing on Palme leaves much used and little on paper: Master of the Roules.

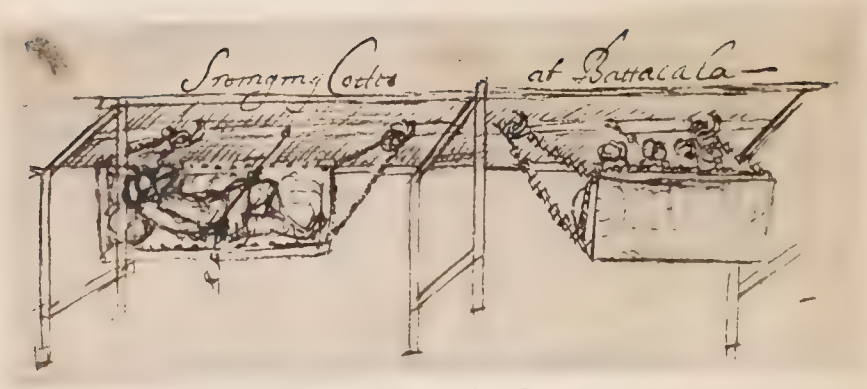
The Country people write on Palme leaves with an Iron bodkin, as before mentioned[4]. They say they will endure 100 yeares. Att my beeing att Eecary I was att the Kings Secretaries, where in his house I saw many hundreds (I may say thousands) of those written palme leaves, beeing very long and Narrow, handsomely rouled uppe, those againe tied into bundles, hung upp

[1] Pietro Aretino (1492—1556), an Italian author who, in 1523, lost favour at the papal court by writing a set of obscene sonnets to accompany a series of immoral drawings by Giulio Romano. Obscene carvings are common on Hindu temples in S. India.

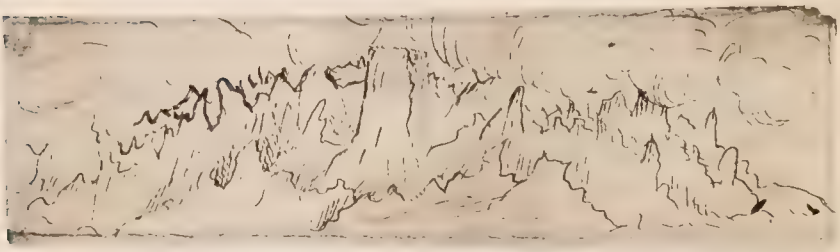
[2] Bhatkal lies in a valley encircled by hills.

[3] For a contemporary description of cowdung paste (*gobar*) used for plastering walls and floors, see Della Valle, ed. Grey, I. 87—88; II. 230—231.

[4] See *ante*, p. 78.



No. 14. Swinging Cottes.



No. 15. Straung Ragged Land.

No. 16. A High Rocke.

in order about his roome or office, soe thatt hee May (not improperly) bee stiled Master of the Roules.

Swinging Cottes[1].

Here are generally used swinging Cottes, hung about 2 Foote above ground by Iron chaines or ropes, soe thatt with swinguing to and fro breedeth aire thatt reffreses, as per the Figure underneth[2]. Allsoe on Festivall tymes, Weomen and Children, 5 or 6 together on a Cotte, Doe swing themselves, Keeping a Measure or tyme in their singing according to the Motion of the Cotte Forward or backeward[3].

The towne lieth in a spacious vally all imployed in Rice tillage.

Civett Cattes and Civett how sold.

Here are Many Civett Cattes and to bee sold For 2 or 3 Ryalls of 8^{tt} each. The civett sold, 7 or 8 waightts therof For one Waightt off gold[4].

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[1] Cot, anglicised form of *khāt*, an Indian bedstead, here used for a hammock swung for coolness.

[2] See Illustration No. 14.

[3] In the month of Sāwan (Srāvan), July—August, it is considered lucky for young people and children to swing, giving rise to many pretty customs all over India. These customs, many of which relate to marriage and betrothal, are usually referred to the *Jhūlajātra*, swing festival, in the new (harvest) moon of August, in honour of Krishna and his bride Rādhā, though the origin is doubtless much older. Mundy, however, must have been told that swinging is a favourite pastime among girls in Cochin, and possibly he had heard of the Tiruvatira Day, an important women's festival occurring in December–January, in honour of Kāma, the God of Love, during which a great part of the day is spent in swinging (*urinjal attam*). See *Cochin State Manual*, p. 213.

[4] The Malabar Civet Cat, *Viverra civettina*. The product called civet was well known to early travellers, and is mentioned by Saris and Herbert (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Maclehose, III. 504; *Some Yeares Travels*, p. 332). It is a yellowish or brownish unctuous substance having a strong musky smell, obtained from sacs or glands in the anal pouch of animals of the civet genus. It has a market value for perfumery. Mundy's statement in terms of modern British currency is that the animal was worth from 10*s*. to 15*s*., and its produce, civet, about 10*s*. the ounce. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, ed. 1813, I. 104, states that in his time the best civet (from Brazil) was worth 30*s*. to 40*s*. the ounce.

A Fruit that washes like sope.

In the Court or yard off our house is a tree thatt beareth a smalle greene Fruitt by Couples, with which poore people wash their Cloathes, For itt will scoure and laver like sope[1].

Bastard Eagles and Greene Pidgeons.

Here are a smalle sort of Eagles which prey much uppon Fish[2], A sort of greatt wild pidgeons off a shining French greene coullour, only aboutt the Neck As[h] coullour; A lesser sort of a yellowish or popinjay greene[3].

A Foule that beareth a ritche Sprigge.

A Frenchman thatt was entertained here in the Countrie into our shippes killed a fresh water foule like a shagge in body, butt a longer taile. Hee bore thatt pretious sprigge of which I saw many att Agra; much off them boughtt by the English and sent home For a Ritche rariety or Comodity. It is very long, very Narrow and very blacke, with a white stripe in the Middle, and within the white againe a very small line of blacke all From end to end. The Foule thatt beareth the white long sprigge like horse haires are common here, as allso in North India[4].

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[1] The Soap-nut, *Sapindus laurifolius* (also *rīta*, reetah or reetah-nut). The bruised capsules of this fruit are used as a soap, especially for washing the hair.

[2] Mundy may be alluding to the Fish Eagle, *Haliætus leucogaster*, but it is impossible to identify the bird with certainty.

[3] The "greatt wild pidgeon" is probably the Great Imperial Pigeon (*Carpophaga ænea*) and the "lesser sort" is possibly *Crocopus chlorogaster*, but it might be one of several green pigeons. *Cf.* Thevenot, Pt. III. p. 38.

[4] Mundy's description applies to the Indian Darter or Snake-bird (*Plotus melanogaster*), and the "Foule that beareth the white long sprigge" is one of the Egrets (*Herodias*). I am indebted for these and the above identifications to Mr. W. L. Sclater.

Babarautt, a greatt Pirate in the Indian Sea.

Att our beeing here att Battacala came in Babaraut, a Rover, with his Frigatts in to the rode (hee is formerly Mentioned)[1], and in boates hee and his company came uppe to towne, where hee entred in petty triumph with his Musicke, Drummes, Flagges, ritch quitasoll [umbrella] and a lusty Crew of good fellowes, very well armed with gunnes, swords, bucklers, bowes, arrowes, etts. Our Admirall receaved and wellcomed him on shoare, soe broughtt him to our house, the said Babarautt coming of purpose to vizitt him. Hee is heare hated and Feared.

Some of the Coines, Waightts and Measures used att Battacala.

Coines[2].

Pagodes, a peace of gold off the Countrie, worth 15½ Fanams[3]. Fanam, worth 30 tare[4] or aboutt 7*d*. English.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 72.

[2] Bhatkal being much further to the southward down the coast than Goa, some of the terms for the coinage in use vary from those given for the latter place, owing to the influence of the Tamil language. But the coins themselves are practically the same, as the following table will show :—

4 cas	=	1 tare
30 tare	=	1 fanam
15½ fanam	=	1 pagoda
1860 cash to the pagoda		

Other statements in the text are

9½ fanams = 1 Ryall of 8 = 1 dollar

14 fanams and 24 tares = 1 St Thomas of Goa

As (*ante*, p. 65) 10 tangas = 1 pattacca (dollar) and as (*loc. cit.*) 15 to 16½ tangas = 1 St Thomas, it is clear that in Mundy's time the *fanam* of Bhatkal was a silver coin equal to the *tāngā* of Goa. This gives a value to the *tāra* of 2 *reis*, a value it still retained up to the 19th century. See Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, I. 102.

It will be noticed that the above tables give 1140 cash to the dollar, evidently representing the almost universal scale at that period of 1000 cash to the dollar. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLII. p. 109.

[3] See *ante*, p. 65.

[4] Tare, tar, tarr, *tāra*, *tāre* (Malayālam, *tāram*), a small silver coin. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Tara, Tare. Fryer, ed. Crooke, I. 143, 149, gives the value 28 and 16 silver tarrs to the *fanam* on the Malabar Coast in 1676.

A tare is a valluation, worth 4 Casse[1].

A Casse is a small coine of Copper.

A Ryall of eightt, Worth $9\frac{1}{2}$ Fanams, rising and Falling.

A St Thomea of Goa, worth 14 Fanams and 24 tare.

Waightt.

A Maund is here 40 Sere and Nere aboutt 25*ll.* English[2].

Measure.

Liquid, accompted by Maunds and Sere.

Hastes[3] or Cubitts, From the elbow to the end of the Midel Finger stretched out.

There are Divers other Waights and Measures butt I overslipped them.

End of the 22th Relation.

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[1] "Cash" represents the old Sanskrit term *kārsha* for a coin of low denomination, through Tamil *kāśu*. An interesting point to note here is that "cash" and "fanam" represent the two parts of the old Sanskrit term *kārshāpana* for the copper coin of the lowest denomination. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVII. p. 91.

[2] It is interesting to note that the maund (*man*) at Bhatkal has increased to 40 *sēr* = 25 lbs., *i.e.*, it represented the N. Indian maund as to reckoning but the S. Indian maund as to weight. This is remarkable because Mundy was travelling southwards. Roughly speaking, the *sēr*, though it has always varied enormously in different localities, has normally represented in N. India 2 lbs. and in S. India 1 lb. Here it represents $\frac{5}{8}$ lb.

[3] It is interesting to find Mundy using in South India so purely a Sanskrit form as "haste," for *hasta*, the forearm or cubit. The Hind. form is *hāth* and the common spelling of early travellers is "haut."

Extract from *Courteen Papers* (*MS. Rawl.* A. 299, fol. 212).

Commission to Anthony Vernworthy.

Comission and Directions for our Lovinge freinds [*sic*] Mr Anthony Vernworthy, appointed Cheefe Marchant of the factory of Baticalà, for the better managing of all such affaires and occasions of moment as may happen in the tyme of his Residence there.

Gyven by us underwritten.

Our very Lovinge freind Mr Anthony Vernworthy.

It is not unknowne both to your selfe and to all those that reside ashoare with you under your goverment [*sic*], what a large and Ample pattent and Comission his Majestie hath been pleased to grant unto us, John Weddell and Nathaniell Mounteney, by vertue whereof wee are authorized to Traffique, search and discover in all these parts of the world, and in any convenient place or places to settle factories, erect fortifications or the like to advancement of his Majesties honour and the good of our Nation. Now wee haveinge with due advice considered of this port of Baticalo and found the same (as your selfe likewise were of opinion) very hopefull for a future trade, and resolved to make this our first residence, and haveinge to the same intent made choice of your selfe (of whose abilities and good discretion in matters of so great Consequence wee are well assured), doe heerewith (by vertue of the power conferred uppon [us] by his Majesties Comission aforesaid) ordaine and authorize you Mr Anthony Vernworthy to direct, governe, order, and dispose all and singular the affayres of this Factory and them to mannage in our absence, with the same authority and power, as if wee ourselves were personally present, requiringe likewise all his Majesties subjects left on shoare for the furtherance of those affayres, that they demeane themselves in such respectyve sort

towards you as befitteth, And in case of refactory or tumultuary behaviour by them or any of them used, we authorize you to punish and by any meanes lawfull to curbe and reclayme such delinquents, and if they persist, then to send them home uppon the first shipps with recommendation accordinge to their demeritts.

Now it beinge very necessary that a house be forthwith buylt for accommodating of all your occasions, wee doe hereby likewise enorder and authorize you to putt the same in practize in such manner and forme as you shall thinke most convenient, ratifyinge and approving whatsoever you shall doe heerein; and the same house beeinge fynished, further to proceed (at your discretion and as you shall finde your selfe inabled) in procuringe licence to fortyfie for the securitie of our Trade, which wee assure our selves you maie at all tymes obtayne.

All shipps that shall touch at this port eyther out of England or homewards (in our absence) belonging to this Imployment are hereby inordered and straightly charged to assist and supply you in all occasions and to be disposed of as by a generall Councell of the said shipp or shipps and shoare shalbe determined. Also wee doe heereby give you full power to demaund out of any such shipp or shipps for the use of our Imployers any quantitie of Monies, goods, &c., and your receipt to the pursers shalbe to them a sufficient warrant and discharge. And in case any Commander of any such shipp shall at any tyme oppose this our order and Authoritie conferred uppon you, you shall then forthwith protest against him or them in the behalfe of our Masters as parties prejudiciall to the Common benifitt, and the same to be sent home by the first.

To all such Banians, Bramens, Brokers, Weavers, Painters, and the like as (wee beleeve) will daily resort hether uppon the news of our settlinge heere, wee desire you to afford all kinde respect and indulgence, incouraginge them in all you may, as knowinge them to bee the cheefe instruments for deryvinge a benifitt from this Trade.

Wee doe heere leave ashoare with you such goods and monyes as by Invoyce heerewith delivered appeareth, beinge all that can possible at present be spared out of so small a Capitall. The Remainder of this (after your house be buylt) wee desire may be invested with the most expedition, that hereafter, if possible, goods may stay for the shipp rather than the shipps for goods, to the great hinderance of the voyage, as by the *Planter* is evident, to our no small greefe.

For Assistants wee have left with you John Fortune to be your second, George Wye and Peter Vandame, of whose conformitie in all things wee have noe doubt. And in Case of Mortality (which God forbid) wee doe inorder the succession accordinge to their place, unlesse you shall finde sufficient reason to the Contrary. And then in such case wee referr it to your selfe to appoint a successor.

In September next wée pray you faile not to write to Goa to advize any shipp that may arryve out of Europe for their repayre hether. And so with our best wishes for your happy successe and prosperous proceedings, wee commend you all to the guidance of the Almighty, and rest

Your very Lovinge freinds

JOHN WEDDELL
NATHANIELL MOUNTENEY

A bord the shipp *Dragon*
le 16th March 1636 [1637].

Extract of a Letter from the Viceroy of India to the King (of Spain), dated 5th October 1637 (N.S.).

(*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Book 40, fol. 116[1].)

Sire—In spite of the courtesy and hospitality with which I treated them, the base conduct of the English of the five ships which came to this port last year from England has become notorious,

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 47. The translation given above is by Miss Leonora de Alberti.

so much so that not only did they go to Canara to buy the pepper which by ancient contracts is ours, allying themselves with a pirate by name Babia [Bābā Rāwat] . . . but they also endeavoured to make enmity between us and Virabadar Naique [Vīra Bhadra Nāyak] and the neighbouring kings by spreading evil report of us among them. Further, they established a factory at a place called Batecalam [Bhatkal] which is under the jurisdiction of the said Virabadar Naique, to negotiate for the pepper, paying much more for it than we do, and giving in exchange copper and lead. And as these Indian kings easily break their word, if anything is to be gained thereby, Virebadar Naique went back on what he had arranged with regard to the said pepper, asking me an excessive price for it . . . with the design of giving it to the said English. And in point of fact, he did give them a large quantity, moved by the prices offered and the presents they sent him, amongst which was a piece of artillery.

Not only in this, but also in other matters, their conduct was contrary to the friendship they owed us. Therefore, to prevent matters from taking a wrong course and being settled to our prejudice (for experience had shown me that friendship with these people [the English] could not include commercial relations with them, but merely a cessation of hostilities and a preservation of peace until such time as Your Majesty shall issue other directions more to your service), I sent orders to all the captains of fortresses not to permit any commerce with the said English, nor any alterations or innovations beyond the said peace and cessation of hostilities. However, should any of the English vessels put into port, compelled by stress of weather or other necessities, I ordered that they should be supplied with what was available, in accordance with the treaty, but that they should not be allowed to remain longer than was necessary to execute repairs, nor to buy or sell anything whatever, and on no account was any vessel, either great or small, to be sold to them until such time as we receive definite orders from Your Majesty.

And to remove from the English any distrust which this might occasion, I also gave orders to the said captains that if an application was made for the said ships, they should reply that they had received no order from me to sell them to foreigners but only to Portuguese of this State; by which means the designs of this people to buy some of our high-decked ships, as was promised them in past years, are frustrated, which is of no little importance to Your Majesty's service . . .

RELATION XXIII.

SINCE OUR DEPARTURE BATTA[CA]LA IN EAST INDIA UNTILL OUR ARRIVAL AT ACHEIN ON THE ILAND OF SUMATRA : OUR SETLING A FACTORY THERE ALSO, WITH OTHER PASSAGES, *VIZ.*[1] :

The 19th Marche Anno 1636/7. Wee sett saile from Battacala.

The 21th ditto. Wee anchored thwart of Mangalore, a place of the Portugalles[2]. Att Nightt there came uppe with us a smalle Frigatt aperteyning unto Babarautt, the Mallabarre Piratt, who broughtt us some sheepe and hennes From their Master, saying hee himselffe would shortly come to us, untill when they would wait uppon us ; butt in the Morning, espying a saile in the offin, they tooke leave off us and Made after her.

The 23d [*March* 1636/7]. Came another of Babarautts Frigatts and broughtt us lettres From the *Sunne* and *Anne* who were Departed From Mondelly[3] to Cananore. For it is to bee understood thatt the 10th currant the said shippes were dispeeded From Battacala to Mondelly

[1] The full headline to this *Relation* in the MS. is "Voiage to China Outtwards From Battacala in India unto Achein on Sumatra."

[2] Mangalore (Mangalūr), a port in Mangalore *tāluk*, S. Kanara. The Portuguese occupied it and built a fort there in 1567. See Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, I. 534.

[3] Mount Delly, a prominent headland in Chirakkal *tāluk*, Malabar District. It was called by Portuguese travellers Monte d'Eli, from the ancient Malabar State of Eli or Heli belonging to the Kolattiri Rājās. Creeks on either side of the hill make it almost an island, Herbert, p. 298, calls the place "Mount Elly."

to see if they could meet with any pepper or other Commodities to make uppe the *Planters* lading, which would bee yett wanting[1].

The 24th [*March* 1636/7][2]. In the afternoone Wee anchored by Mondilly.

The 25th [*March* 1637]. Wee had pretty store of refreshing broughtt aboard, as bullocks, smalle and greatt hennes, Fish, Coconutts, etts.

Many Pirattes on the Coast of Mallabarre.

Hither came to us Babaraut and his Fleete, who is said now to goe and settle himselff att Battacala [Bhatkal] by reason the King of Callicutt hath Driven him outt off his Country, burnt and razed his houses, as allsoe of all his Followers[3], of whome I conceave there are no lesse then 6 or 700, a Notable archepirate of which nature there are others on this Coast, soe thatt Few vessells can escape them except they goe under convoy of the Portugalls, etts.

Dangerous people at Mondelly.

The people on shore att this place are said to bee robbers and inhospitable, soe thatt No body landed.

Cananore a Portugall Plantation.

This evening wee wayed and came before Cananore, another place where the Portugalles have a Fort and

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[1] Here is a marginal note in the MS. :—" The *Sunnes* and the *Annes* going from Battacala (omitted in its Dew place) For Mondelly."
From the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* we learn that the two ships went to " Mount Dilley there to refresh their sicke men," as well as " to make triall what pepper [might] be sodenly procured, apointing to that end Edward Knipe and Henry Glascocke with sufficient Capitall and Comission."

[2] Beside the entry for the 24th March, Mundy has written 1636 in the margin and beside the entry for the 25th, 1637, thus marking the beginning of the year as reckoned in the 17th century.

[3] Bābā Rāwat was, however, still living near Calicut in 1638. See vol. II. p. 316 *n*.

a plantation[1]. Here wee found our Vice Admirall [the *Sun*] and Pinnace *Anne*, who in this tyme had gotten a smalle quantity of Pepper[2], butt lost Mr Hudson their Preacher[3] who Died in this interim.

Some Dutch taken by the Portugalls and the Portugalls againe taken by the Mallabar piratts.

Particuler men mett with sundry China Comodities, as greene ginger in excellentt curious porcelane Jarres, allso porcelane Cuppes and Dishes, For som of the Mallabarre pirates had taken a Portugall vessell which came From Mallacca, wherin were certaine Dutchmen taken by the Portugalles in the straightts of Mallacca. These were all taken againe by the Mallabares as afforesaid, who sold the goods ashoare hereaboutts; wee saw some of itt allsoe att Mondillee.

Cananore the name of a kingdome as allsoe of the Cheif Citty therof.

This Cananore is a kingdome as allsoe the name of the Cheif towne therof, [the people] beeing Mallabares; the king att present nott here att home, this beeing his residence[4]. It hath an inlett and a harbour within, capable of smalle vesselles. At the entraunce the Portugalles have their Fort and plantation aforementioned, allthough nott very bigge, lying to Seaward in view of our shippes.

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[1] Cannanore (Kannanūr), Headquarters of the Chirakkal *tāluk* of Malabar District. The fort was built by Dom Francisco de Almeida in 1505, with the permission of the Kolattiri Rājā. Linschoten (ed. Burnell, I. 67) calls it "the best fortress that the Portugalls have in all Malabar." See also Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, I. 118, 120.

[2] The *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30) says that the kindness "of the Malabars to our people was extraordinary" and that Courteen's merchants "were furnished with a quantity of pepper."

[3] I have failed to trace any details about the "Preacher" of the *Anne*.

[4] Cannanore was at this period the capital of the Kolattiri Rājās.

These 3 or 4 Daies, as wee came along, the land appeared to us very Mountaynous, and this Nightt wee wayed.

Cochin a kingdome allsoe and the name of a greatt towne of Portugalls there[1].

The 27th March [1637]. Wee came to Cochin, anchored there, saluted the towne with our Ordnance, butt were nott answeared From thence, Soe some of our principalles went ashore to crave licence to buy reffreshing For our Mony, which was graunted[2].

Cochin commended.

It is a very large towne which with the Monasteries maketh a goodly prospectt, lying in sightt of the roade as Cananore. The buildings are for the most part very faire and uniforme, the streetes many, long, large and straightt, as though all had bin built at one tyme, such a conformity there is[3]. Many Churches and Monasteries but not soe faire as those att Goa, neither are there soe many faire great buildings; provisiones Cheaper[4]; few Portugalls of quallity, most Mestizoes[5].

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[1] Cochin, the chief port of Malabar, now the Headquarters of the *tāluk* of British Cochin in Malabar District, was first visited by the Portuguese in 1500. In 1503, Cochin fort, the first European fort built in India, was erected by Albuquerque. Cochin remained the chief of the Portuguese settlements in India until the capture of Goa in 1511.

[2] From the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* we learn that Thomas Robinson (followed on the 28th by one of the Mountneys) was sent to "the Captaine, who gave him freindlie welcome and told him the English might make accompte of that place as of their owne port." Robinson stayed ashore for the night and was entertained by the "Cheife marchante of the Towne."

[3] During the ascendancy of the Portuguese, Cochin became a large and flourishing city containing, besides the fort, many handsome churches, monasteries, factories and houses. See Baldaeus, ed. 1672, pp. 114—118.

[4] Pyrard de Laval (ed. Gray, I. 433) says that at Cochin "Living is cheap, except that bread is dearer than at Goa."

[5] Port. *mestiço*, half-caste.

Here was boughtt a parcell of Cinamon to helpe make uppe the *Planters* lading att 35 Royal of eightt per quintall, to pay part in Royal and part in lead att 9 Royall per Quintall[1]; and by virtue of a lettre From Don Phillippe Mascarenhas before mentioned[2], there were sentt aboard some bullockes and hogges gratis.

Cochin Chists etts. timber worcke.

Hereaboutts, especially att this place are the best timber worckes that are in all these parts of India. For there are some very pretty handsome boats Named Balaones of one entire peece[3], allsoe large Cisternes to bath in off only one peece allsoe, butt above all store of handsome large Chists, and others with Drawers, Many of 1¼ yeard each square and each square of one Plancke[4].

The last of Marche [1637]. Wee wayed From Cochin and proceeded on our voyage. From hence untill you Neare Cape Comorin the land lies very low.

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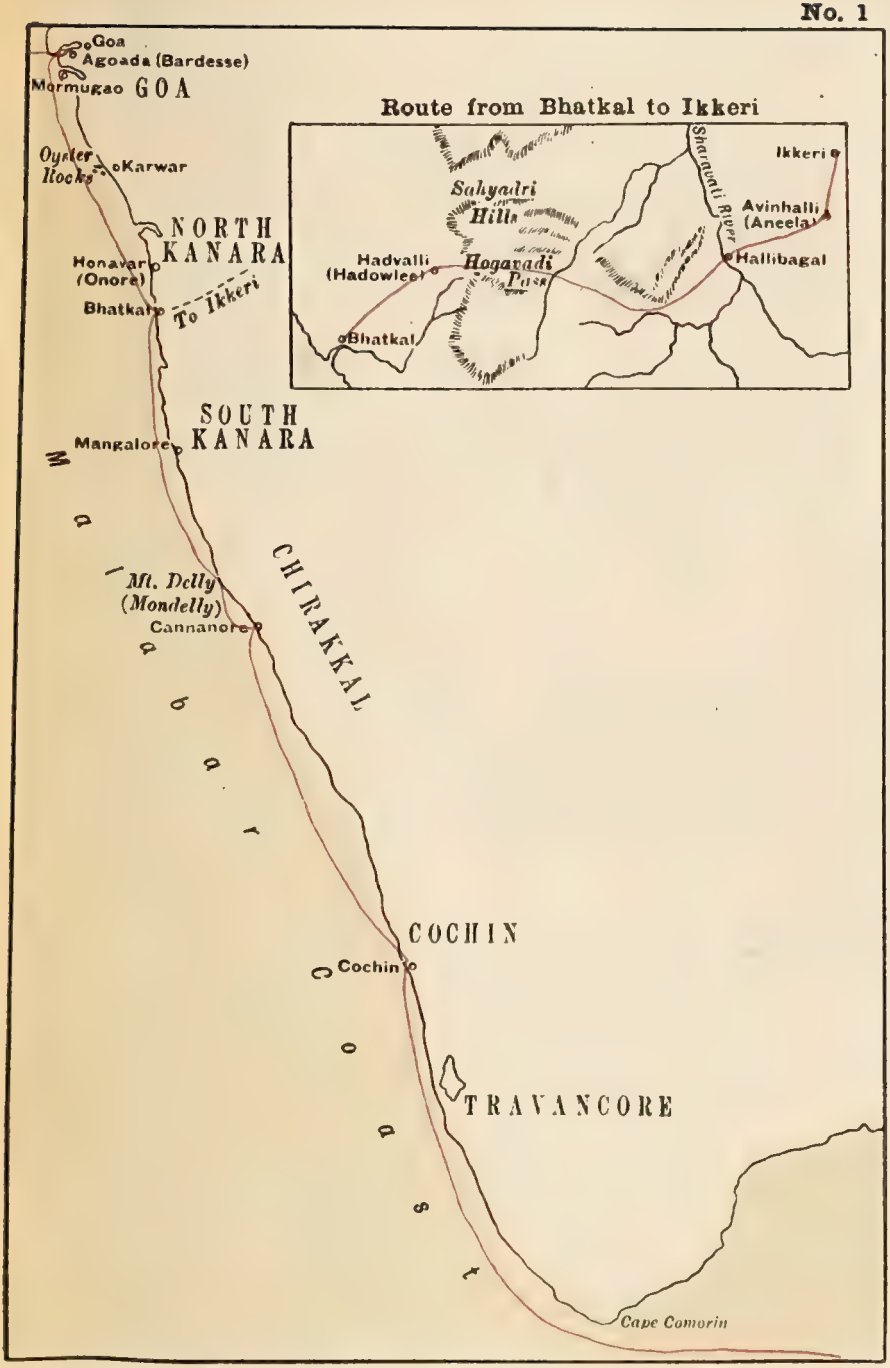
[1] Mundy's figures do not tally with those given in the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet*, where it is said that Robinson agreed to pay "100 kintalls of lead at 7 Rs. 8t. [reals of eight] per kintall" for the "synnamon" and "the rest in money, the Synnamon rated at 25 Rs. [reals] per kintall."

[2] See *ante*, p. 71.

[3] Balaon, baloon, balloon, probably from Mahr. *balyānv*, a large canoe or dug-out. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Baloon. Compare Mandelslo, *Travels into the Indies*, p. 88, "Cochim . . . having . . . on the Land-side a Forrest of black Trees [*Dalbergia latifolia*, black-wood], whereof the Inhabitants of the Country make their Boats called Almadies [Ar. *alma'diya*, a raft, canoe]. These Trees they make hollow, and so the Boat is all of one piece, yet with these they make a shift to go along the Coast as far as Goa."

[4] In 1673, John Vickers writing from Fort St. George to his friend Richard Edwards in Bengal (*O.C.* 3748) mentions a bale of goods "which is in a Cocheen Chest, as they say," and Hamilton (*A New Account of the East Indies*, I. 331) remarks of Cochin, "Their Woods afford good Teak for building, and Angelique [Angely-wood, Tam. *anjilī-maram*; *Artocarpus hirsuta*] and Pawbeet [?] for making large Chests and Cabinets, which are carried all over the West Coast of India."



Mundy's Route in India, 1636-1637.

Cape Comorin[1]. Straung ragged land aboutt that Cape.

The 4th of Aprill [1637]. Wee came to Cape Comorin. (This cape in East India and cape Blanco in West India on the coast of Peru are Directly opposite or Antipodes)[2]. Very high land and as ragged as Abboghurre in India[3]. Among the rest there is one very high rocke or Peak resembling Paules steeple, butt I thinck 4 tymes as high[4]. I thus Deciphered it with some part of the land adjoyning, thatt men may see whatt ragged land there is in some parts off the World[5]. The rocke mentioned is sett Downe somwhatt More or less as it appeared, butt for the rest it is only to shew that such manner of ragged land there was, as I have elce where allso seene.

The *Planter* parted From us bound For England.

The 6th currant [*April* 1637]. The *Planter* took her leave of us and Followed her voyage For England. Her lading was Most part pepper, some Cinamon, Frankincense and gumlacke [*lākh*, lac]. Captaine Molten tooke his passage on her by reason off some Differences, I know nott Whatt[6].

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[1] Comorin, through Port., a corruption of Kumarī, Tam. form of Skr. Kumārī, "the Virgin," *i.e.*, the Goddess Durgā, to whom there is a temple at the extreme point of the cape.

[2] The passage in brackets is given as a marginal note in the original. Mundy's statement is not quite correct. Cape Comorin lies in 8° north latitude and 77° east longitude, while Cape Blanco is situated in 4° south latitude and 81° east longitude.

[3] See vol. II. pp. 257—258 for Mundy's description of Abūgarh (Mount Abū).

[4] Mundy's remarks seem to apply to a peak of the Cardamum Mountains (a continuation of the Western Ghāts), a large conical hill, 1403 ft. high, situated 4 miles inland from Cape Comorin and often mistaken for the cape itself. He is alluding to the steeple of Old St Paul's. See *ante*, *Relation* XX. p. 16.

[5] See Illustration No. 15.

[6] The "differences" between Captain Molton and his colleagues began as far back as September 1636 (see *ante*, p. 36). From the *Continuation of the China Voyage*, preserved at the India Office (*Marine*

The I[l]and of Zeilaon [Ceylon] Comended.

The 7th of April [1637]. Wee passed faire by the faire Iland of Zeilaon where groweth the best Cinamon in the world, and affirmed none good elce where. Linschoten commends it For the Fruittfullest, the most pleasant and most Delicious Iland thatt is in all these parts of the world[1]. This Morning wee saw a very high hill Farre within the land, resembling somwhatt the Crowne of our now new fashion hatts. Whither this bee thatt called Adams peake I know nott[2]. It is somwhatt after this Manner, as allsoe the land about it[3]. This and the former I have figured as 2 strange and contrarie [different] parcells of land[4].

Aboutt the Cape there is a passage beetweene the Iland and the Mayne, butt towards the Eastward it is shallow, greatt shippes Not Daring adventure thatt

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Records, vol. LXIII.), which takes up the official narrative of the Courteen venture on the 6th April 1637, when the *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* breaks off, we learn that "For the more tranquillitie and peace of the Voyadge, which could not otherwise be procured, Captain Robert Moulton insistinge upon his forementioned protest, was lycenced to goe for England, intrustinge out to divers particular persons by indirect meanes (as hath since appeared) noe small sommes of money to the advancement of private trade." The "protest" does not appear in either of the documents noted above, nor is it among the papers connected with the Courteen expedition of 1636—1638 (*MS. Rawl.* A. 299) at the Bodleian Library. Among these documents, however, is a "general lettere" (see Appendix D), dated 19th December 1637, which alludes to the dispatch of a letter of the 5th April "per the shipp *Planter*," advising "of all such passadges worthie" the knowledge of the promoters of Courteen's Association.

[1] "The Iland of Seylon is said to be one of the best Ilands that in our time hath beene discovered, and the fruitfullest under the heavens" (Linschoten, ed. Burnell, I. 77).

[2] Adam's Peak (Shivanadippātham) is 7353 ft. above the sea. It is the most prominent, though not the highest peak, in Ceylon.

[3] See Illustration No. 16.

[4] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) we learn that on the 7th April "It was resolved by Consultation to goe for Achin, aswell for that we understood off the old Kinges death, as for other reasons." For the "other reasons" which induced the fleet to put in at Achin see the letter of 19th December 1637 (*Courteen Papers, MS. Rawl.* A. 299) in Appendix D.

way: the Iland lying very neare the Mayne, vessells of 100 tons may passe[1].

Sightt of the Iland of Sumatra.

The 19th April [1637]. Wee had sightt of land [Achin Head] 9 or 10 leagues off. Thatt night wee lay short off itt. The next morn wee were Driven to the Northward of the passage where wee intended to have gon in, lying among small Ilands[2].

Anchored in Achein Rode.

The 22th [*April* 1637]. Wee gott into Achein, beeing hindred untill Now by currantts and Contrary windes. getting little these 2 or 3 daies.

Abstractte of partt of Marche and part of Aprill broughtt in to one Anno 1636/1637.

19. Wee sett saile From Battacala.
21. Anchored thwart of Mangalore.
23. A violentt gust continuing not above ¼ hower.
24. Anchored att Mondilly and had some refreshing.
25. Anchored att Cananore.
27. Wee arrived att Cochin.
31. Wee sett saile From thence.

By reason wee coasted it alongst the shore, there was no reckoning kept untill wee Neared the Cape. The lattitude, longitude and Distance of places may quickly bee knowne by looking on any Mappe of these

[1] The Gulf of Manaar is shallow and navigable only for small boats. The Pāmbam passage between Adam's Bridge and Rāmeswaram, however, gives passage to vessels drawing up to 10 ft. of water.

[2] Achin road is sheltered by small islands. See Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 286—287; Dampier II. 122.

parts. From the 19th March to the First Aprill wee may have run Miles 270.

4. Wee came uppe with Cape Comorin: Longitude from hence.
6. The *Planter* parted From us.
7. Faire by the Iland of Zeilaon.
11. Raine and thunder.
12. Raine and lighttning.
15. Raine and variable Wyndes.
16. Variable Wyndes.
17. Frauncis Bickam Died[1].
19. Sightt of land 9 or 10 leagues off.
22. Wee anchored in Achein Roade[2].

Runne in 32 Daies of these 2 Monthes the some of Miles 1277

Of (and att) Achein.

This place lyeth on the North end of the greatt Iland of Sumatra, by the Ancientts named Triprobana[3], which by some is thoughtt to bee thatt Ophir From whence King Solomon [? had] his gold, apes and peacockes[4].

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[1] Probably one of the crew of the *Sun*.

[2] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* gives the 21st April as the date when the fleet "anchored in the roade."

[3] In the middle ages and for long afterwards it was generally believed that Sumatra was the Greek Taprobane, though the ancient Greeks themselves meant Ceylon by that name. Linschoten (ed. Burnell, I. 107—108) speaks of "the famous Ilande of Taprobana, nowe called Sumatra," and Mendoza (ed. Staunton, II. 319) of "Sumatra called by the ancient cosmogrofers Trapouana, which is (as some say) the Iland of Ophir." See Yule, *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed. II. 277.

[4] The Malay Peninsula and Islands were generally identified in a vague manner with Solomon's Ophir in Mundy's time (see Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 3), and mountains both in Sumatra and in Johor (on the Peninsula by Singapore) were stated to be the spot whence Solomon obtained his riches. Ophir is now believed to have been situated in some part of Arabia, but the exact locality is disputed.

The King[1] sends his Choppe and to whatt purpose.

Att our Anchoring came boates aboard From this King, and by them sentt his Choppe or Sealle[2], a token of Favour, Saffeconduct and licence to goe and come, Desiring our Freindshippe and trafficke, earnestly inviting the Commaunders on shore, which accordingly they Did on the 23d currant, and were lovingly receaved by the King, and severally by him invested with the shash[3], a girdle and a lunghee[4] (as is the Custom of these countries), promising to remitt the tax imposed by his Father in law [Iskandar Mūda], *viz.*, [blank] Royal of eightt For anchorage of each bottom[5] and to allow them any reasonable Courtesy, appointing Forthwith a house For them to reside in the tyme of their stay here[6]; soe were Dismissed and came aboard. The Next Day our boates and people went Freely ashoare on all hands.

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[1] Iskandar Thāni (Sāni, II.) *alias* Alāu'ddīn, Mahāyat Shāh, who succeeded the great ruler Mahkota 'Alam, better known as Iskandar Mūda, in December 1636. Iskandar Thāni reigned till 1641 and received the posthumous title of Marhūm Dāru's-Salām. He was followed in turn by his widow Srī 'Alam (daughter of Iskandar Mūda) under the title of Paduka Srī, Sultān Tāju'l-'ālam Safīatu'ddīn Shāh.

[2] Hind. *chhāp*, strictly speaking, seal-impression, stamp, but used n Malay for a passport or license. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Chop. For a detailed description of the " chop " at Achin and the ceremonies attending the granting of it, *c.* 1675, see Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 300—302. See also Hamilton, *East Indies*, II. 103; Beaulieu (in *Voyages de Thevenot*), pp. 45—46.

[3] Ar. *shāsh*, muslin, turban-cloth.

[4] Malay *lunggī*. In S. India a coloured cloth to wrap round the body.

[5] In Weddell's own account of the voyage of Courteen's fleet (*O.C.* 1662), he says " they were wont to pay " for " Ancoradge " in " the old Kinges tyme 100 *li.* a shipp, besides greate Customes," but that now " when wee Carried anie goods to our howse, they tooke our owne words for the Custome, the Kinge beinge a younge man and stood much affected towards us."

[6] In Captain Weddell's own account (*O.C.* 1662), he says that the king " gave us a lardge plott of ground to build on."

Extracts from the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.).

Proceedings at Achin.

22th April 1637. Captain John Weddell, Mr Nathaniell Mountney and Thomas Robinson went ashoare, and had all the kind Entertaynement which might be Expected. The kinge sente 5 or 6 Elephants to bringe them to Courte, where haveinge dyned and beinge invested after the Malayan manner, they had a howse proffered att the Kinges Cost, and were Earnestly solicited to leave a residence there, which upon good Consideration was Easily yeelded unto.

23th Aprill 1637. The next day Thomas Robinson was sent to the Kinge to give him to understand that beinge now bound for China, and haveinge allready touched att divers ports and putt [off] the greater parte of our Capitall, and beinge intended to putt in there only in quest of a Lost Pinnace, wee were not att present provided to Furnish this Factory with any considerable Commodities till the next supply, but if he pleased to take Iron and certayne Ordinance (which for the shipps were unserviceable), wee would leave that on land to be paid in pepper to our merchants, to be ready against the first shipps returne from Chyna, by which tyme or soone after, wee doubted not to sett that Factory on Foote with ample supplies. This he gladly accepted off, and (haveinge agreed upon a price) promised to performe accordingly.

Att our Comeinge hether wee found noe Christians in the whole Towne, but there were 3 Dutchmen to whome the Kinge had lately given the howse formerly belonginge to the Honble. East India Company, our selves beinge appointed their opposite Neighbours in the Danes (sometimes) residence.

Their Capitall is small as likewise their witt and manners (beinge fellowes of former slender imployment) and sent hither rather to oppose any off our Nation that should arrive, in out faceinge, out vyinge and Lyinge them, then for any reall intent or

desire of trade, though they promised the Kinge to be ready att all tymes to assist him with 12 shipps for the Surprize of Mallacca, which he haveinge since Experienced to be nothinge but braggs and lies, hath refused to Confide upon, and concluded a peace with the Portugalls.

The old King Dead and this now his Sonne in law.

It is to bee understood thatt the old King or tirantt Died some 3 monthes since[1], establishing this in his roome, now of the age of 25 yeares, who Married his Daughter, Disinheriting his owne Sonne, Charging this to make him away after his Death if hee loved his owne saffety, which accordingly hee performed, making many of the bloud Royall to bear him company[2].

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[1] News of the death of the King of Achin had reached Courteen's factors while they were off Cochin in March 1637. The *Voyage of Weddell's Fleet* (*State Papers, Dom., Chas. I.*, CCCLI. No. 30) records that "At Cochine we had certaine advertisement of the king of Achine his death, procured by his sonne, and of his sonns murther, procured by the greate men there, so that the whole kingdome is in trouble and rebellion. What the isshue may be, time may produce. As we passe by the road we shall better informe our selves."

[2] These statements regarding the death of the King of Achin in 1636 are valuable because they support the clearing up of a long disputed historical point. Marsden (*History of Sumatra*, pp. 446—447) says that European and Malayan authorities were considerably at variance in his time regarding the date of the death of Iskandar Mūda. The Malayan Annals of Sumatra, as stated by Marsden, place his death in December 1636 and give as his successor Sultān Alāu'ddīn Mahāyat Shāh (Iskandar Thāni) who died in February 1641.

But Valentyn, writing of 1641 (*Ood en Nieuw Oost Indien*, vol. v., Sumatra, p. 8), describes the funeral of a King of Achin, who from the context could have been no other than Iskandar Mūda. This obliges him to skip the reign of Iskandar Thāni in his historical account and to say that Iskandar Mūda was succeeded by a woman, his daughter Paduka Srī. She had, however, in reality, married Iskandar Thāni and succeeded her husband, on his death in 1641, and not her father. In fact, the funeral which Valentyn describes was that of Iksandar Thāni.

Wilkinson (*Papers on Malay Subjects*, History, p. 50) follows Valentyn, and when editing Bowrey's MS. in 1903 (Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 298, *n.* 2) I also followed him. But the contemporary statements of Weddell and Mundy given above show that the Malayan Annals are correct and that Iskandar Mūda died at the end of the year 1636. Also, other Dutch authorities have not followed Valentyn, for in a footnote to p. 20 of *Corpus Diplomaticum*, vol. LVII., and again

Extract from the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII).

Further details concerning the late King of Achin.

Wee found him [the king] verry gracious and of a quite Contrary Disposition to his tyrannical predecessor, whose daughter he haveinge married, himselfe beinge sonne to the Kinge of Pahang, A place borderinge upon Mallacca, and by him much affected. The old tyrant perseivinge the badd inclination of his owne only sonne, then in Courte and waitinge his fathers death, caused this his successor and sonne in lawe to goe privily and well appointed in the nighte to his owne sonnes howse and to surprise and slay him suddenly, which he said was the only meanes of safety for himselfe. And this beinge done, the old man instantly declared him his heire and successor and soe Expired[1].

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on p. 345 of that volume, the dates of Iskandar Mūda are given as 1607—1636, and on the latter page the relationship between him and his successor and the date of the successor's death are correctly stated.

The confusion between the great Iskandar Mūda (Mahkota 'Alam), his son-in-law Iskandar Thāni and his daughter Paduka Srī in the minds of the early Dutch and English travellers no doubt arose thus. Paduka Srī is a common Malay royal title applied to both sexes, and part of the title of the daughter of Iskandar Mūda as Queen was also Iskandar Mūda. She is further an interesting personage as the first of the well-known long line of the Queens of Achin.

[1] It will be seen that this account of the death of Iskandar Mūda and his son differs from the version which reached Courteen's factors at Cochin (note [1], p. 119), and also from Mundy's own story in the text. The news that reached the Dutch at Batavia, however, agreed in the main with the report that came to Cochin. The *Dagh Register* of 12th March 1637 N.S. (p. 86) records that a junk "importing" from the west coast of Sumatra brought a story that about a fortnight before his death the late King of "Atjeh" had caused his only son and heir to be strangled because he feared that after his decease he would plunge the kingdom into bloodshed, and further, that a Prince of Pahang had succeeded to the throne of Achin. This news was confirmed on the 25th March (*ibid.* p. 108). See Marsden, *Sumatra*, p. 446, and Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 297—298 for additional and varying details of these events.

The historical statements gathered together in the text and these notes are important, as there appears to be a gap in the Dutch records about this period. Valentyn skips from 1627 to 1641, and the *Dagh Register* gives no details of Achin beyond those furnished above, and has a gap from 1637 to 1640.

Buckree Eede

The 26th of Aprill [1637]. The principalls off the Fleete were invited to the Solemnization of Buckree Eede or of Abrahams Sacrificing his Sonne, butt whether Isacke or Ismaell I Did not aske[1]. Some passages therof I will here sett Downe.

First, all the greatt greene att the going in of the Kings house[2] was Stucke with sundry greatt Flagges, and many of these country standards From the entraunce of the King['s] house to the greatt Messitt [*masjid*, mosque] at the other end of the greene on each side of the way. Then came a squadron of Elephantts with certaine things like little low turretts on their backes, and in each of them a souldier in redde with a launce in his hand standing upprightt, a shash [turban] on his head part gold, which seemed to bee Made uppe after the Indian manner. The first rancke of Elephantts (they going by 4 in a rancke) had each of them 2 greatt swords, or rather long Iron Sithes Fastned to their tuskes. This whole squadron every little space of tyme, uppon a watchword, would rush Forward, the Souldiers on their backes brandishing and acting with their launces with loud outcries, stamping on certaine lo[o]sened boards putt there of purpose, Made a straunge Noise. This I conceave they Doe when they Charge their enemies to break their order.

Next after these came another Number of Elephantts with little turretts or Cradles on their backes allsoe, somwhatt high railed, wheron were placed smalle gunnes,

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[1] Mundy had already seen and described (in 1632) a procession to celebrate 'Idu'l-Azhā, feast of sacrifices, commonly known in India as Bakar'id, and he then made the same remark regarding the person commemorated. See vol. II. pp. 197—200.

[2] John Davis, who was at Achin in 1599, describes the King's palace at Achin with "three Guards" and "a great Greene between each Guard" (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Maclehose, II. 319).

arcabuz a Crock[1], or such like, with a man to manage them. Affter these other elephantts with more turretts with 2 men in each of them, having bowes, arrowes, Dartts and bucklers; then other Elephantts with long Flagges as most of the rest had; others covered From their head to their Feete, the Cloath borne outt with bamboes, resembling great tortoises, nothing appearing butt their very feete, eares, eyes and truncke.

Affter these came a Multitude with gunnes, and then as many with very long pikes, each [with] a little Flagge or one of those Cowtailes[2] Fastned to the head therof. Amongst all were led many good horses with ritch saddles and Furniture; then a guard of Eunuches on horsebacke withoutt saddles, each a long Sword on his shoulder with a guilt or gold scabbard. Before the King were carried Divers quittasoles [umbrellas][3], said to bee of beaten gould, and a greatt Number of Flagges.

Then commeth the King on a greatt and stately Elephantt, ritchly adorned and covered all over downe to the Feete as beforementioned. Hee was mounted alofft on a ritch seatt which was covered overhead with a very ritche high Double Pavilion or arche. Before and neare him were borne sundry ensignes like hearts (of gold) reversed, on long staves and one with looking glasses in the Middle on both sides[4], butt whither (as some say) hee causeth them to bee carried before him

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[1] Harquebus à croc. A harquebus, or arquebus, supported on a rest by a hook of iron fastened to the barrel.

[2] See vol. II. pp. 158, 176, 217, for Mundy's previous references to the *chauhrī* or fly-whisk.

[3] Beaulieu (*Voyages de Thevenot*), p. 105, says that quitasols were carried before and beside the King of Achin and that no one else was allowed to use them. Certain of the royal elephants, however, especially distinguished for courage or sagacity, were permitted to bear quitasols as a mark of honour.

[4] Mundy is describing the *'alam* or standards used properly at the Muharram festival in N. India, but in S. India and the Malay Peninsula at other festivals (such as the Bakar'id) also. For an elaborate account of the *'alam* and their use, see Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, pp. 176 ff.

thatt hee mightt see in them whatt is Done beehind him, I know not.

Att his Issuing Forth the Musick played, some of them by turnes and others alltogether, as Hautbois, straightt trumpetts, and others in forme of great hunting hornes, Drummes (the 3 latter of Silver); another Copper Instrument called a gung, wheron they strike with a little woodden Clubbe, and allthough it bee butt a small Instrumentt, not much More then 1 Foote over and ½ Foot Deepe, yett it maketh a Deepe hollow humming sound Resembling thatt of a great bell[1]: all the afforesaid musick Discordantt, Clamorous and full of Noise.

A straunge allthough Confuzed sightt.

The Marche was allsoe very confuzed and on heapes, there beeing scar[c]e roome and tyme For order. However, it was all rare and straunge to behold, *viz.*, the Multitude of greatt Elephantts accoutred and armed after severall Manners, Weapons and Ornamentts, costly Furniture, etts., there beeing Nere as Many More Elephantts allsoe fitted for this shew (thatt could nott Marche with the rest For lacke of roome) which stood in sundry places by while the others passed.

Affter the King Followed anothe[r] guard with bowes, arrowes and bucklers off a Fathom long, allthough not 1½ Foote broad.

The Peoples Manner of obeisance.

As the King passed, the people made their obeysaunce by lifting their Joyned hands over their heads. I have allsoe expressed the said solemnity by Figure here inserted explained by letters, *viz.*

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[1] The Malay (Javanese) *gong*, a metal disk. There is no instance of this spelling of gong in the *O.E.D.* Compare Bowrey's description of a gong used to strike the hour (Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 196).

The Figure here inserted[1] explayned by letters, *viz.*

A. The great Mesitt or churche att one end off the greene.
B. Elephantts with sithes or swords Fastned to their tuskes.
C. Elephantts with Arcabuz a Crocke in little turretts.
D. Elephantts wheron in little turretts were men with bowes, arrowes, Darts and bucklers.
E. Elephantts with 3 or 4 Men of quallity riding on them.
F. Elephantts with Flagges.
G. Elephantts covered all over Downe to their Feette.
H. Gunners.
I. Pikemen.
K. Horses of state ritchely Furnished, ledd by the Raines.
L. Eunuchs on horseback withoutt saddles.
M. Sundry sorts off harsh Musicke.
N. Severall sorts off ensignes carried before the King.
O. The King on a stately Elephantt covered Downe to the Feete allsoe.
P. Orancaies[2] or lords on Foote.
Q. A guard comming after the King with bowes, arrowes and long Narrow bucklers.
R. The going in to the Kings house, From whence all came Forth.
S. The Chowtree[3] in the Middle where the King alighted and Chaunged his Elephant
T. The 2d Elephantt the King rode on.
V. Trees off thatt Forme, wherof Many aboutt Achein[4].

The King chaungeth his Elephantt.

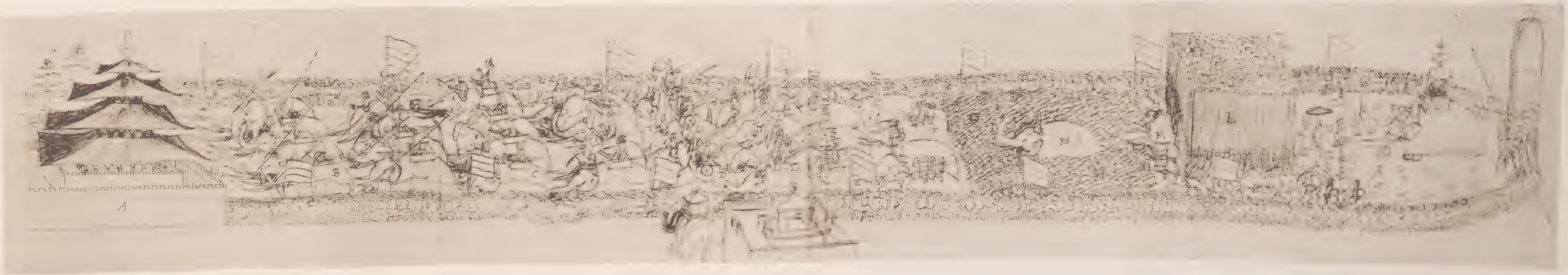
When the King came to the First little building [*chabūtrā*] on the greene, hee alighted From thatt

[1] See Illustration No. 17.

[2] Mal. *Orang-kaya*, lit. a rich man, a Malay official of distinction.

[3] *Chautrī*, *chabūtrā*, a raised place, platform, or open room. For Mundy's previous allusions to these buildings, see vol. II. pp. 26, 44—45.

[4] Mundy's " trees " are identified by Sir David Prain as *Terminalia Catappa*.



No. 17. Buckree Eede [at Achin].

Elephant, and passing through the roome, Mounted on another thatt there stood ready For him, having the Pavillion over his head of Tambacca, a mixt Mettall of gold and Copper much esteemed in these parts[1]. The King had on his head (as farr as I could perceave) a Cappe of gold with sprigges of Jewells, And in his hands a Ritch (guilt or gold) bow; on his Feete no shooes, It beeing the Custome toe goe barefooted From the King Downeward. One rode before him to guide the Elephant and another beehind him, butt hee sate Much higher then they.

The Kings sacrifice: 500 yong buffaloes.

And soe hee proceeded to the Messitt, where hee alighted and entred, when presently [immediately] were sent in (by report) 500 yong buffaloes to bee sacrificed, wherof the king killed the first and officers appointed killed the rest, which was afterwards carried outt and Distributed among the people; this latter passage by relation.

This, in conclusion, was the Manner of the King of Acheins riding in state to his Mosche or Messitt to celebrate his buckree Eede or feast of goates[2]. For they hold (as I was told) thatt a goate appeared outt of the bush and not a Ramme. These being Mahometaines Doe in commemoration of Abrahams his offring his sonne keepe certaine festivall Daies every yeare.

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[1] Port. *tambaca*, from Malay *tumbaga*, an alloy of copper and zinc. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Tomback. Sir James Lancaster (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Maclehose, II. 409) speaks of a "Mettall . . called Tambaycke, which groweth of Gold and Brasse together."

[2] Mundy is going back to his old information procured in India (vol. II. pp. 197—200) where the Muhammadan term Bakar'id is made to refer, from the influence of Hindu prejudice against killing cows, to the sacrifice of goats (Hind. *bakrī*) in place of cattle (Ar. *bakara*). Bakar'id properly means the feast of the sacrifice of cattle, not goats. In Achin the sacrifice of the Muhammadan King was clearly of cattle as is shown in the preceding paragraph of the account.

In the Description afforegoing somethings may bee lefft outt and others Misplaced. However, somwhatt More or lesse, itt is as I saw it.

Fighting of Elephantts Described.

The 27th of Aprill 1637. The Commaunders which had bin yesterday to see the kings pompous riding to the Messitt came now againe to see the Fighting of Ephelantts [*sic*] to bee perfformed this Day. And allthough in the Former part of this booke I breiffly Described how they Foughtt att Agra in India[1], yett there beeing soe greatt Difference beetweene the one and the other, I will relate somwhatt of this as the More Noteable.

Beeffore wee came the sport was beegun, the King beeing all ready satte on a Chowtree thatt stood on the great greene aforementioned. Rightt over against him stood, a good Distance offe, Nere 150 greatt Elephantts in a rancke, one by one, their heads inwards, which stand there to make the place while their fellowes fight.

Furious Elephantts and the reason : how they were Fitted.

Wee were no sooner come, butt on the sodaine all the said guard of Elephants went away, and people began to avoid [retire], running to and fro, wee making accompt all had bin Don. Butt the reason was, there were a Couple off extraordinary greatt and Furious Elephantts comming into the Feild with Flagges uprightt on their backes and a Couple of Keepers on each. It is said thatt the Males Doe once or twice a yeare grow very furious and unruly, beeing then as they [are] in rutt or Desire of the Female, att which tyme there runneth an oyle or sweate From beehind his eares where (as an Elephantt Keeper told mee) lye his testicles; others

[1] See vol. II. 127—128.

say beehind, butt none to bee perceaved[1]. These 2 madde Elephantts had 4 shee Elephantts Made Fast to them (each of them to each hinder legg one) with Hawsers, Distantt aboutt 15 or 20 Fathom, to keepe and restraine them From sodaine running on the people. For they are then very Mischeivous and endaunger Man and beast thatt should thwart them, which is the Cause thatt the guard of Elephantts gave way and Departed as aforesaid.

Their Manner in Fighting.

These 2, as soone as they had espied one another, as knowing whatt they came For, Made all the hast they could to encounter, in a Manner Dragging their Female Clogges after them, when beeing Nearer, levelling their long, strong and sharpe pointed teeth point blancke one against the other (and rushing together) with them Most violently and furiously strucke and pushed att each other with all their Mightt and spightt. And thus for a space they lye striving, strugling, Fencying, Foyning, thrusting, wresting and Clashing their teeth one against the other, roaring Most hidiously and pissing while they Fought, Doing their uttermost to hurt each other and Drive backe by shooving and setting their huge Massy bodies one against the other, soe thatt one ore other Must give ground att last. And then they part them. Butt the Commaund of their Keepers was insufficient, as allsoe the goodwill of the Fower Females at their heeles, soe thatt there Faine to bee Neare 200 Men to hale on the said Hawsers to sever them[2]. Having

[1] Mundy has confused the description of a must elephant, from general accounts of these animals given him by their keepers, with that of a fighting elephant.

[2] When the Rev. Patrick Copland was at Achin in the time of Iskander Mūda, he was present (25th June 1613) at "a fight of wild Elephants, which would quickly kill each other, but that some tame are made fast to them, which draw them backe, sometime eighty or an hundred men helping" (*Observations by Master Copland, Minister, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Maclehose, IV. 151).

had 3 or 4 such boutts together, they were returned From whence they came, where in certaine places they stand Fettred in great bands of Rattanes[1] (Able I conceave For a good shippe to Ride by).

Then came againe the great guard off Elephantts, and then were there Foughtt 10 or 11 paire more, paire after paire, some performing extraordinary, especially one little paire. There were Elephantts hurt and teeth broken. These foughtt as bad as the Former, butt more tractable and ruled, and willbee ruled by their Keepers. After all these were introduced another Couple off Madde Elephantts (the grand guard beeing first gon) and Foughtt as the 2 Former, which beeing Don, the sport ended For this particuler.

A question Answeared.

A question may bee demaunded if thatt the Elephantts fightt soe furiously, how chaunce their is no More hurt Don. It is to bee conceaved as Boares would quickly spoile each other if they could come to have an advauntage, butt by Instinct of Nature they know one anothers play and how they may bee hurt, which both sides seeke and prevent. Soe is it with these. For they usually Fence with their teeth and bear off with the uppermost and biggest part off their trunckes, Most commonly their tuskes, one of each side the others Noses. Butt many tymes they strike and wound each other shrewdly in their heads, trunckes, mouthes, etts. Sometymes one of them runs away and then the other pursues him, striking in the side, buttocke, or where hee can.

This Iland reputed to breed the biggest Elephantts.

This Iland is reported to breed the biggest of any knowne place elce, butt in my opinion I have seene as

[1] Rattan, Malay *rotan*, the stem of various species of climbing palms, *Calamus*. See Dampier, II. 167, for a description of rattan cables.

No. 18. Fighting of Elephants.

bigge and as talle in India, if not bigger[1]. I caused once a very large one to bee Measured and was found to bee 11 Foote and 5 inches high perpendicular, From the ridge of his backe (which is his highest part) unto the ground. There may bee some off 12, 12½ and 13 Foote highe and thatt is the uttermost For any thatt ever I saw[2]. The teeth of these here are all uncutt, some 4, some 5 and 6 Foote long, butt not very bigge. This King is said to have aboutt 1000 off them.

I have here allsoe by Figure set Downe the Manner off their Fighting, *Viz*[3].

[Mundy's description of Illustration No. 18.]

A. The King of Achein sitting on his Chowtree.

B. His guard of Weomen near aboutt him.

C. The Commaunders of the English Fleete.

D. The greatt furious fighting Elephantts.

E. Shee Elephantts Fastned to their hinder legges.

F. Men with long pikes, having sharpe Forcks or prangs att the end, to pricke and compell them as occasion shall serve.

G. The great guard of Elephantts which, as I have said, Depart away att the Fighting of the furious unruly Elephantts, butt keepe their posture and stand when the other sorts Doe Fightt.

H. A shee Elephantt. They have generally no tuskes, yett att Suratt I thinck I saw one thatt had a paire of little short teeth.

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[1] The elephants of Ceylon bore a higher reputation with 17th century travellers than those of Sumatra. See Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 180 and note.

[2] A full grown male Indian elephant rarely exceeds 11 ft. in height.

[3] See Illustration No. 18.

I. The Females privities lying rightt under betweene her hindlegges in the place where the udders of Kine, sheepe, etts. Doe; in this Differing From all other.

K. The Dugges or udder of the shee Elephantt lying by here forelegges.

L. A hee Elephantt, and beehind his eare att this Marcke* his testicles are said to ly. If this bee true it is very straunge; butt it is here soe affirmed.

M. The Elephantt stretching outt one of his hinder legges, holding it a little above ground, whereuppon the Keeper or other, taking hold off his taile, gett uppe. Thus the inferiour sort; butt For their Masters or Men of quallity, they gett uppon them From some gallery, window, etts., or elce they [the elephants] lie Downe to receave them uppe; allsoe with a shortt ladder.

N. People helping to hale backe when they would part the Madde Elephantts From Fighting.

O. The multitude of Spectators.

I have bin somwhatt long aboutt the Elephantt because it is a beast to bee noted as the biggest, strongest, most capable (as it is held) and Most Dissenting [differing] in forme and use of parts From others of any thatt is.

There were allsoe Buffaloes, Antaloppe and Rammes in a Redinesse, butt the Buffaloes only Foughtt, and thatt very strong and eagerly. One of them was given after to our Admirall [Captain John Weddell] and sent aboard, Where it is said thatt all the Men in the shippe could not knocke him Downe with a sledge, butt thatt they were att last faine to Fetter him, through him Downe and soe cutt his throate.

A guard of weomen with bowes and arrowes[1].

This Daies sport beeing allsoe ended, the King returned, riding on a smalle Elephantt in a little Saddle with 3 quittasoles carried over him, A guard and Drummes going before him, Another guard of Weomen Followin him on Foote with bowes and arrowes in their hands. These sate Neare and aboutt him while the pastyme lasted, all uncovered and shorne, having cutt off their haire att the old Kings Death, as Most of the weomen in towne elce: a Custome used of old. It is said allsoe thatt Divers of them were stranglued to accompany and attend him in the other World[2].

Here aboutt the Rode nere the shore the ground is levell and low. A little within the land are very high hilles, both which much subject to Fogges and Mists, greene all the Year long, rayning once in 15 or 20 Daies More or lesse as in our parts. No sett Monsoone off Raines and foule weather as att Suratt[3], allthough att Sometymes More then others, and then itt cleane overflowes the lower ground.

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[1] Beaulieu (*Voyages de Thevenot*), pp. 102—103, says that Iskandar Mūda's female guard numbered 3000 and that the women rarely left the fortress of Achin except to accompany the king on special religious and state occasions.

[2] See Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 311, for the compulsory shaving of such Achinese women as resisted the general mourning order in 1675. Valentyn, in describing the royal funeral of 1641 at Achin (vol. v., Sumatra, p. 9) confines himself to stating that the women tore their hair, beat their breasts and scratched their faces. Mundy's statement of the strangling of members of the king's female guard to accompany him to the next world is strange for a Muhammadan country like Sumatra, and is not, so far as I know, confirmed by other writers.

[3] Dampier, however (II. 148) says: "Their weather [at Achin] is much the same as in other Countries North of the Line, and their dry Seasons, Rains, and Land-floods come much at the same time as at Tonquin and other places of North Latitude." The fact is that the north of Sumatra is subject to the N.E. and S.W. monsoons or rainy seasons much as in the Bay of Bengal.

Houses att Achein[1].

Their houses are builtt on posts Covered with Cajans or toddy leaves[2], the sides of rattanes very prettily woven. Their living is in the upper roomes, the lower lying open like a lynny[3]; because that after some greatt shower of Raine the vally is overflowne as aforesaid, soe thatt they goe from place to place and house to house in prowes[4] or boates; butt the water stayeth not above 2 or 3 Daies. This by report[5].

Much gold in sundry parts of this Iland, some within the Dominion of this King (For it hath Divers), it beeing one of the greatest knowne Iland[s] in the World, the Middle of it lying allmost rightt under the equinoctiall lyne[6].

Gallies and Frigatts.

Of Gallies and Frigatts this king hath Near uppon 200 here, and of smalle vessells and greatt prowes a Multitude[7] aperteyning to particulers [private owners], whose sailes are off leaves woven like matts, and their Cables, Cordage, etts. made of rattanes woven like Sinnett[8] or platts; their shroudes of one reede or bigge

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[1] See Illustration No. 19.

[2] Cajan (cadjan) is a term used for two entirely different things. (1) Malay *kajang*, any palm-leaf, especially for thatching and matting, usually *nipa* (*nipa fruticans*), toddy palm (*tār*, palmyra) and the cocoanut palm. (2) Malay *kachang*, any pulse or leguminous plant, usually in India *dāl* (*Cajanus Indicus*).

[3] Linhay (linney, linny) a term used in the south-west of England to indicate a shed or building open in front, usually having a lean-to roof. For other contemporary descriptions of houses at Achin, see *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Maclehose, II. 318; De Graaf, p. 22; Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 321.

[4] Malay *prau*, *prahu*, any kind of boat or ship.

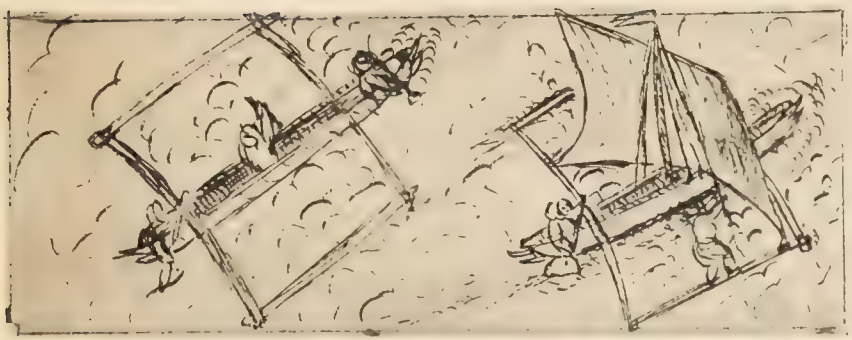
[5] See Dampier, II. 149 for confirmation.

[6] The equator crosses about the middle of Sumatra, which lies between 6° N. and 7° S.

[7] See *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Maclehose, II. 285, 321, for further remarks on the galleys of Achin.

[8] Sinnett (a nautical term of obscure origin) is used to indicate flat braided cordage of rope-yarn or other fibrous material.

No. 19. Houses at Achein.



No. 20. Prows of great Swifftnesse.

rattan such as wee walcke withall. The said gallies and Frigatts, when they are outt of Imploymentt, are haled uppe on shore and in Drie Dockes Carefully covered over with Cajanes to Keepe them From the Sunne and Rayne[1].

Prowes of greatt Swifftnesse.

Here are some prowes of such exceeding swifftnesse in a gale of wind thatt it [is] allmost incredible, a man standing to windward to Keepe her upprightt, thatt the Crossebarres com nott much into the water. For the outer barres of all are to keepe her from oversetting, which shee would otherwise bee subject unto, beeing soe long and narrow to beare such a saile, which is allsoe the Cause of her swifft Motion. I say her greatt length and soe little breadth with a saile soe unproportionably wide[2].

A fresh River: Ordnaunce.

Here is a pretty Fresh River aboutt a stones cast over; A Barre very daungerous sometymes by report only For smalle vessells[3]. Many plattfformes [for mounting guns] along in the Bay; store of good Ordnance here and there[4], among the rest a greatt brasse gunne or [blank] lying by the court gate, sent by King James

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[1] For a detailed article on Malay boats, including the sails of matting, see *Indian Antiquary* xxxv. 97—115.

[2] See Illustration No. 20. Mundy is describing the well-known Oriental outrigged canoe, which Dampier (II. 131) calls "Flying-Proes." See also article in *Indian Antiquary* above quoted.

[3] Bowrey (ed. Temple, p. 286) says that "Vessels of 60, 70 or 80 tunnes may come up to the towne Side 2 or 3 miles within [as far as] the barre [of the Achin River]." Marsden (*Sumatra*, pp. 396—397) says that there is only 4 ft. of water on the bar, which prohibits the use of the river to all but small country boats.

[4] See Linschoten, ed. Burnell, I. 109—110; De Graaf, p. 23; Beaulieu (*Voyages de Thevenot*), p. 105.

to the old King. The bore of itt was near 25 or 26 inches Diameter[1].

Mosches.

Many Churches or Mosches of a pretty Forme like unto thatt Deciphered in the Kings riding in state aforegoing[2].

Inhabitantts.

The Native inhabitants Mahometaines, ordinarily apparelled in blew callico, butt the better sort in Purple, tawny, etts., a very odde habitt, *viz:* On their heads shashes [turbans] twisted like roules like those wheron Maides carry their Milking pailes, which covereth not the Crowne of their heads[3]; on their shoulder a shirt or Jakett with monstrous wide sleeves close att the wrist; a lunghee aboutt their Middle; long swords by their sides somwhatt a[fte]r the Decan fashion, hanguing in a beltt over one shoulder very straungely; allsoe Cresses [*kris*], a kind of Dagger, most commonly with very ritch hilts or handles, the blade going No farther then this marcke *[4]; all the Men shaven clean off upper lippe and Chin, resembling soe Many Friers, and all barefooted from the King to the Begger as farre as I could here or see[5].

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[1] Mundy is alluding to the brass cannon sent by James I. to the King of Achin in 1618. It was 9 feet long, with a bore of 2 feet. See Foster, *English Factories*, 1618—1621, p. 64*n*.

[2] Dampier (II. 129—130) describes the mosques at Achin as "generally square built, and covered with Pantile, but neither high nor large . . . no Turrets or Steeples [minarets]."

[3] See *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Maclehose, II. 314, for the investing of John Davis at Achin (in 1599) with a "Roll of white linnen about my head and white embroidered and red robes."

[4] See Illustration No. 21.

[5] See Dampier, who says (II. 129) that "a sort of Sandals are worn by the better sort."

No. 21A. An Orancay.

No. 21C. A Durion.

No. 21B. An Achein Woman.

No. 22. A Mallacca Woman with a broad Hatte.

[Mundy's description of Illustration No. 21].

The expression of the 3 Former Figures.

The Men are figured as No. A, the better sort of Weomen as No. B; and No. C is a Durien, a fruit I much heard spoken of and commended, accompted hott, Delicious in tast, though of a very ranck smelle to first commers, somewhatt like unto Rotten onions; in shape like unto a hedgehogge, as on the other side [but] somewhatt bigger[1].

Here are many Moores, guzarattes, who goe after their owne Country manner. Att some tyme of the yeare here arrive Juncks From sundry parts, *viz.*, From Guzaratt, Mesulipatan, Bengala, Macassar, etts[2].

Cruell Justice.

Justice executed here with Cruellty on Maleffactors, *viz.*, to some cutting off both hands and Feete, others either hands or Feete only; to others their Noses, their lippes, privities. And thus Dismembred, Mangled and Disfigured, they are lett goe to seeke their living. If the offence Deserve Death, then is their staking alive, sawing asunder alive, cutting in peeces, th[r]owing to Elephantts to bee by them Dismembred and torne in peeces[3].

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[1] The well-known edible fruit of offensive odour of the Far East, the dorian or durian, Malay *duran, duriyān*. See Rumphius, *Herbarium Amboinense, s.v.* Durio, duryon, lib. 1, cap. 24, tom. 1; Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 322; Linschoten, ed. Tiele, II. 52—53.

[2] De Graaf, p. 23, remarks, "Here [at Achin] are found the merchants, both Moors [Oriental foreign Muhammadans] and idolaters [Hindus], provided with all kinds of merchandise. See also Dampier, II. 129; Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 287—288.

[3] See Beaulieu (*Voyages de Thevenot*), pp. 61—62, 101—102; Dampier, II. 138—140, and Bowrey, ed. Temple, pp. 315—317, for further details of barbarous treatment of criminals at Achin.

Coines, Waightts and Measures att Achein[1].

Coynes.

A Turon[2] or tay[3] is 4 Ryall of ^{tt} eightt[4], no coine butt a valluation.

A Ryall of eightt worth 4 massaes[5], somtimes $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5.

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[1] Scales of currency and money and weights in the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula have always varied greatly. See Indian Antiquary, XXVII. 37 ff., XXVIII. 103 ff., XLII. 85 ff., for elaborate disquisitions on Malay weights and currency and their nomenclature and scales and values.

Mundy's scale works out as follows :—

600 casse	= 1 massa (gold)
$4\frac{1}{2}$ (5) massa	= 1 ryall of eight
4 ryall of eight	= 1 tay

Dampier (II. 132) in 1688 found 4, $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 " mess " to the piece of eight and leaden (spelter) cash 1000 to 1500 to the " Mess . . . at the descretion of the Money-changers."

[2] " Turon " reappears in *Relation* XXVII. as " turanae " for a tael of account. There does not seem to be any term directly representing " turon " or " turanae " in Malay or Portuguese. Tael in Malay is *tahil*, but in Siamese it is *tamlüng* (*Indian Antiquary*, XXVII. 1, etc.), and in the allied Cambodian it is *tomlong* (*ibid.* pp. 3, 34, etc.), terms which the French writers report as *damlong* (*ibid.* p. 17). Mr. C. Otto Blagden informs me that in Cambodian there is a term *trènot* for a string of 600 cash (tael of account). In the language of the Shans of Burma, closely allied to the above tongues, the term for a tael is *taung* (*ibid.*, pp. 8, 14). In Cochin-Chinese (Chāmpā) there is a term *kwan*, *kwon*, for the tael of account (*ibid.* p. 36). The Chinese name for the tael is *liang* (Cantonese, *leang*), which in the allied Annamese and Cochin-Chinese takes the form of *luong* (*ibid.* p. 35).

It is probable, however, that Mundy is referring to a tael of Turon, or Tourane as the French spell the name. Turon is the second largest town in Annam along the old commercial high road, about a mile above the harbour of Han-sen, near the well-known nautical landmark, Cape Turon or North Cape.

[3] Tay, often also spelt tai, taie, by old travellers, Malay *tāhil*, *tāil* (probably connected with the Indian word *tulā*, an avoirdupois weight), commonly tael, tale, the money of account and coin, usually believed, erroneously, to be Chinese : the modern standard weight of 16 mace or 4 dollars.

[4] Mundy's sign for " Ryall of eightt " is very interesting as showing it was a dollar, and that the modern sign for the dollar is the figure 8 with a line through it signifying that the original dollar was of eight reals.

[5] Masse, S. Indian *māṣ*, Skr. *māsha*, Malay *māyam*, the commercial term mace : a small gold coin and also money of account, usually a quarter dollar (piece of 8, real of 8).

A Massa, a smalle peece of gold worth Now 600 Casse[1].
A Casse, a smalle tynne Coine.

Waightt.

A Bahare is 200 Cattees[2].
A Cattee is $30\frac{5}{8}$ ounces English next hand.

Measure.

A Bambo ℥ 3 pints English Near hand[3].

A Factory setled att Achein.

The Commaunders having established a Factory hier on shore, Wherof Mr Edward Knipe[4] principall, Mr Andrew Carneworth[5] 2d, Mr [William] Bourne[6] Purser of the *Anne* 3d, with 2 or 3 other English, Wee desired leave to bee gon. According unto our Desire the King sent us his Choppe licensing our Departure. Soe on the 2d of May, by breake of day 1637, wee sett saile outt of the roade of Achein.

End of the 23 Relation.

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[1] Casse, S. Indian *kāsu*, Skr. *kārsha*, Port. *caixa*, commercial, cash: the lowest monetary denomination. It always varied enormously in comparative value with the dollar in regard to time and place. On the way out to the Far East Mundy found it as above, 600 to the mace; on the way back, nine months afterwards (*Relation* XXVII), he found it 1000 to the mace at the same place. Albuquerque (1510) found the Malay currency at Malacca to be of tin (*Indian Antiquary*, XLII. 109).

[2] Bahare, Malay *bahar*, *bhārā*, the weight of 200 *katī* at Achin, but usually of 3 *pikul* of $133\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. or 100 catties (Malay *katī*), making the *katī* $1\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. The *katī* varied from about 1 lb. to 2 lbs. Mundy's "cattee" is nearly 2 lbs. In *Relation* XXVII., *infra*, Mundy works out the *bahar* of 200 *katī* at Achin at 382 lbs. 13 oz. Bowrey, in 1675, made the Achin *bahar* 396 lbs. 11 oz. 14 grs. (p. 282 *n*). The standard weight of the *bahar* may be taken at 400 lbs. See article on Malay Currency in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLII.

[3] Bamboo (*kulah*, *kulak*), a Malay measure of capacity. See Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 281. Marsden (*Sumatra*, p. 192) makes it $3\frac{1}{2}$ pints. The sign given by Mundy indicates 3 pints. The mark is that still employed for the pint with a 3 written through it.

[4] See *ante*, p. 21.

[5] Andrew Carneworth, or Cornwath, apparently died at Achin. The last mention found of him is at the end of 1637. See the account of Edward Knipe, Appendix B. p. 460.

[6] The name "William" is supplied in the *Continuation of the China Voyage*, which adds that the other members of the expedition left at Achin were "2 English youthes and a blacke," and that "Instructions and Advice" were given them "for their proceedinges."

RELATION XXIV.

OUR DEPARTURE FROM ACHEIN ON SUMATRA: OUR TOUCTHING [*SIC*] AT MALLACCA AND ARRIVAL AT MACAO IN CHINA, WITH OUR RECEPTION THERE BY THE PORTUGALLS, ETTS. PASSAGES, *VIZ*[1].

Our Departure From Achein.

The 2d May Anno 1637. Wee sett saile outt of the roade of Achein by breake of Day, passing by a most pleasauntt peece of Country this Day.

Taking possession and New naming Hope Iland: how.

The 11th currantt [*May* 1637]. Wee came to a smalle Iland called Pulo[ver]era[2], which was by our Commaunder new named, calling itt Hope Iland, taking possession therof For the King of England by Nayling a leaden

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[1] The full headline to this *Relation* in the MS. is, "From Achein on Sumatra unto Macao in China."

[2] Pulo Berhala (Barāhla, Brāhla, Image or Pagoda Island), the Pulo Vérela of Horsburgh, *East India Directory*, ed. 1855, a high island and a good landmark, about 22 miles from the Sumatra shore. There is water in a little cove on the south side, and plenty of firewood and excellent pine logs for spars. In *Relation* XXVII., on the return voyage, Mundy calls the island Pulo Verera and the spelling in this instance is probably a slip of the pen. Pulo Berhala appears in the Log of the *Princess of Denmark* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXXX.), under date 1st June 1689, as Pulo Verda, in the log of the *Catherine* (vol. 115A), under dates 4th and 6th June 1704 as Polow Vararah and Pulavearara, and in the Log of the *Compton* (vol. 666C) as Pulo Verera or Verella. Up to the end of the 18th century the island was known under both names. See Dunn, *East India Directory*, ed. 1780, p. 414.

plate with the English armes on the stocke of a tree. Here wee wooded and watred. Of the former here were trees of an exceeding heightt, straightnesse and biggenesse, Bamboes or Canes of 40 or 50 Foote long, as bigge as a Mans legge in the Calffe ; Allsoe springs and Rilletts in sundry places.

Porters Ilands allsoe New Named.

The 14th [*May* 1637]. Wee came to Many smalle Ilands and Rockes[1] which were named Porters Ilands (I conceave) in remembraunce of Mr Endimion Porter, one of our Imployers[2].

Sumattra and the coast of Mallacca seene both att once.

The 15th and 16th currantt [*May* 1637]. Wee saw the Mayne of Mallacca and the Iland of Sumatra both att once aboutt 8 or 9 leagues From land to land[3].

Our arrivall and anchoring in the Road of Mallacca[4].

The 24th [*May* 1637]. Wee anchored in the road of Mallacca. Wee saluted the place and were answeared

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[1] The Brothers, Pulo Pandang and Salanama (Pulo-pandan, Pandanus or Screw-pine Island, and Sālah-nāma, Miscalled Island), two small islands in the track of vessels navigating the coast of Sumatra, 25 to 30 miles south-east of Pulo Berhala. "At 6 Anchored, the Ilands Cald the two Brothers Bearing SWbS., Pulavearara NW=N." Log of the *Catherine*, 6th June 1704 (*Marine Records*, vol. 115A).

[2] Endymion Porter (1587—1649), Groom of the Bedchamber, one of the originators of Courteen's Association. For his share in the venture in which Mundy took part, see Mr Foster's Introduction to *Court Minutes* 1637—1641, p. xvi. Porter's name did not remain attached to the islands.

[3] The fleet had doubled Cape Rachado (Tanjong Tuang, the Lord's Cape), whence the low coast of Sumatra (distant 20 miles) and Malacca are both visible.

[4] From the letter of 19th December 1637 (*Courteen Papers, MS. Rawl.* A. 299, given in full in Appendix D), we learn that the object of touching at Malacca was to get information about the difficulties of navigating the Straits of Singapore and "if possible, to procure an experienct Pilott, the better to avoyde them."

againe From the towne[1]. This hold hath bin allwaies accompted very strong, allthough itt bee not much above 1 mile in Compasse within the walles[2]. It is Furnished with Neare 160 peeces of brasse Ordnance, som of aboutt 10U000[3] waightt, each carrying an Ironshotte of aboutt 80 pound waightt, Most of them unmounted; the greatest part taken som 7 or 8 yeares since, when the Portugalls here gave the King of Achein a very greatt overthrow, where hee lost all his gallies, Ordnance and Many thousand Men[4]. The Newes of this victory came to Surat att my beeing there[5].

An Englishman Married to a Mestiza.

The Master Gunner of this place is an Englishman long since run away from the Companys shippes and

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[1] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) we learn that the *Dragon's* barge was sent ashore with Thomas Robinson "to salute the Governor, A younge man, called Don Diego Coutinho, the sonn of a brave soldier [Dom Francisco Coutinho], but himselfe as it seemed being wounded more with Cupidds shaftes then Mars his lances. He kindly welcomed the messenger and in vaine Expected letters from the Vice Roy of Goa. Against the morninge he provided a present of refreshinge, such as places of Garrison might affourd, and with a friendly letter to the admyrall sent it abourd, proferringe us the assistance of himselfe and his, which was kindly requested, with the like in Every respect."

[2] The early history of Malacca (Malaka) is obscure, but it undoubtedly became a place of importance early in the fifteenth century. It was taken by the Portuguese in 1511 and held by them until 1641, when it was captured by the Dutch. See Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*, History, pt. 1; Dennys, *British Malaya*, *s.v.* Malacca; *Lisbon Transcripts*, *Noticias da India*, *Translations*, vol. I. pt. 1, pp. 246—253.

[3] I have not succeeded in tracing the origin of this sign, indicating thousand, which is used by seventeenth century writers (but by no means consistently) in the same way as the comma is now employed to divide the noughts. It occurs four times in the present volume. Elsewhere Mundy writes his numbers in the usual way.

[4] For an account of the attempt of the King of Achin to recover possession of Malacca in 1629, see Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, II. 228—233. The fleet numbered 250 vessels, 47 of which were of an unusual size and strength. The entire Achinese army consisting of 20000 men, was either killed or taken prisoner and an enormous amount of booty fell into the hands of the Portuguese.

Mundy was at Surat from September 1628 to November 1630. See vol. II.

Now lately here Married to a Mestiza [Portuguese half-caste][1].

An English Woman Married to a Mestizo.

Here is allsoe an Englishwoman Married to a Portugall Mestizo of some quallity, are well to live, and have beetweene them one pretty boy. Shee came from England some 18 or 19 yeares since when Captain Carter (Now Commaunder of the *Catherine*) was Master of the *Unicorne* bound For Japan. Then was shee Maid-servauntt to one Furbisher, a Carpenter, who with his Family was passing thither to remayne in the Country as Cheiffe Carpenter to trymme and repaire the East India Copmpmanys [*sic*] shippes, having then trade in those parts[2]. The said shippe *Unicorne* in her voyage thither was cast away on the Coast of China, and with whatt they saved From her they boughtt China vessells, and proceeding on their voyage were taken by the Portugalls Nere unto Macao, Wee then beeing att Difference with them in these parts; her Master was afterwards slaine. Her Mistris returned For England and shee remayned among the Portugalls, where shee was brought upp by the Misericordia, an order that takes care for Orphanes and their bringuing uppe. Att length this Man desired her to wiffe and For her Dowry had an office given him in the Custom house. She was called Judith and now Julia de la gracia[3]. There was

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[1] Mandelslo (p. 106) reckoned the population of Malacca in 1639 to be about 12000, and of these "not above three hundred natural Portuguez, the greatest part are Mestizes or Malayans."

[2] For the history of the English factory at Firando (Hirado), a small island off Kiushiu, Japan, 1613—1623, see *Diary of Richard Cocks*, ed. Maunde Thompson.

[3] The details here given by Mundy supplement the account of the Furbishers contained in the India Office records. Richard Furbisher (Furbusher, Frobusher) served the Company as master carpenter of the *Charles* in her voyage to Bantam, returning to England in 1618. In February 1619 the Court of Committees, realizing the necessity of "a good ship-carpenter in India" agreed with Furbisher, who was "known to be very skilful" and willing "to go and live in India for

att Achein an Englishman allsoe married and turned Mahometan.

Provisiones Dear att Mallacca.

Provisiones, as Bread, Flesh, butter, sugar, etts., all extreame Deare; only racke ['*arak*, spirits] and Fruite Cheape, their beeing store of either[1].

Mallacca hath a Fresh River with a bridge[2]: much suburbes withoutt the walls. It lies in the kingdome of Paon [Pahang], whose king is allsoe King of Jore [Johor], thatt King beeing Dead, one of his Sonnes now King of Achein who had married the old Kings Daughter as aforementioned[3].

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seven years with his two sons." The family, with a maidservant, sailed in the *Hope* for Bantam, and in December 1619 Furbisher wrote to the Court from the Cape "complaining of sundry defects in the shipping." At Bantam the Furbishers appear to have transhipped to the *Unicorn* bound for Japan. The ship was wrecked on the coast of China, but "the Companie saved themselves" and landed at Macao "with a chest of money" with which they bought "two barks." Furbisher with his wife and family sailed for Malacca in one of these and remained there as captives. In 1625 "Mistress Frobisher" was ransomed in exchange for two Portuguese gentlewomen, and went to Batavia, her husband having been "slain at Malacca, her children detained and her maid turned Catholic." In October 1626 she was in England and addressed the Court as "Johan Cranfield, late wife of Richard Frobisher deceased." She stated that her sons had died in Malacca and that "her servant was yet in slavery." She petitioned for wages due to Furbisher and for money left by him at Batavia.

Mr Bromley Eames, *The English in China*, p. 14, suggests that Judith (later Julia de la Gracia) was the first Englishwoman to visit China, but he was evidently unaware that Mrs Frobisher was also in the *Unicorn* at the time of the wreck.

See *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1618—1621 and 1625—1629. For the wreck of the *Unicorn* in 1620, see Foster, *English Factories*, 1618—1621, p. 266 *n.* and the authorities there quoted.

[1] Valentyn also remarks on the dearness of food at Malacca, and says that the only provisions not imported were fish and fruit (*Ood en Nieuw Oost Indien*, v. (Malakka) 310.

[2] The town of Malacca is situated on a small river of the same name which divides it into two parts. Herbert (p. 315) says of the bridge that it was "strong though meanly beautifull." See also Valentyn, *op. cit.*, p. 309; for contemporary descriptions of Malacca, see Mandelslo, p. 106, and *Lisbon Transcripts, Noticias da India, Trans.*, vol. I. pt. I, p. 246.

[3] The personage alluded to as "now King of Achein" was Iskandar Thāni (see *ante*, p. 117), there described as son-in-law of Iskandar Mūda and a son of the King of Pahang. Iskandar Thāni (Iskandar II.)

Their habitt.

Their habitt as att Goa; only the vulgàr sort of Weomen wear hatts of Cajanes[1] or toddy leaves sowed together of 4 and 5 Foote Diameter, like quitasoles [umbrellas][2]; the Country people attired like those att Achein. This Mayne beeing of the same Nature as the Iland of Sumatra, Clowdes and Fogges hanguing Most commonly aswell on the lowland as aboutt the toppes of Hilles, which makes the Countrie soe abounding in trees (allmost all covered with woodes) grasse, etts. greene things, as allsoe in Fountaines and springs, allthough the Climate bee held unwholsome.

Malaya: The Mallaya tongue of a greatt extent.

This part of the Continentt is properly called Mallaya and the Mallaya tongue is used Farre and Neare

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was a prince of the old Malacca line of which the Pahang and Johor dynasties were branches, being descended from Mansūr Shāh of Malacca, who flourished about 1470. In 1637 (according to Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*, History, pt. 1, p. 50), Pahang and Johor were separate kingdoms and not under one ruler as Mundy says, but Mundy had much to support him in his statement at the time, for the Dutch writers in 1634 speak of Johor and Pahang as incorporated in the Achin dominions.

The history of the period is not easy to follow, but the most likely story is that in the *Būstānu's-Salātīn* (quoted by Winstedt and Blagden, *Malay Reader*, pp. 102—103), viz., that the Achinese captured Iskandar Thāni, son of Ahmad Shāh of Pahang, when they took Pahang (*c.* 1616), as a boy of about seven years old. He subsequently married Iskandar Mūda's daughter and succeeded him as King of Achin. This account would make him about twenty-eight years old in 1637, when Mundy saw and described him as about twenty-five.

The King of Johor, alluded to by Mundy as being dead, did actually die in 1637 and was Rāja 'Abdu'llah (Sultān 'Abdu'llah Mughāyāt Shāh), who spent the last years of his life, from 1623, as a fugitive from the wrath of his sister's husband, Iskandar Mūda of Achin. On the death of both these kings, the latter in 1636 and the former in 1637, Johor revived and became independent under 'Abdu'llah's son Sultān 'Abdu'l-Jalīl Shāh.

I am indebted for the information leading to this note to Mr C. Otto Blagden.

[1] See note [2] on p. 132.

[2] See Illustration No. 22. For further remarks on native costumes at Malacca, see Pyrard de Laval, vol. II. pt. 1, p. 156.

amongst all these Easterne Iles, as Sumatra aforesaid, Java[1].

The 26th of May [1637]. Wee sett saile From Mallacca[2].

The last of this Month [*May* 1637]. Wee came to the entraunce of the straightts of Sincapura[3], their comming to us Divers boates with excellentt good Fresh Fish, as allsoe Dried. Wee wentt 4 or 5 leagues, all the way on both hands soe full of Creekes, passages and Ilands as I never saw the like, especially on the starboard side, the little Iles lying like soe many Haicocks laid close together, all overgrowne with trees.

Oysters growing on trees.

Wee sentt and broughtt wood From one of these little Ilands, where wee Found pretty oysters growing on the stemmes of trees; butt they grew within Full sea Marcke[4].

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[1] Malaya, correctly Malayu, the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. Mundy is right. The Malay language, being the common medium of communication, infused itself into all the languages of the Archipelago. Mandelslo (p. 108) also remarks, "The Malacca or Malay Language is held the most elegant of all the Indies wher it is at least as general as French in Europe."

[2] In Weddell's own account of the voyage (*O.C.* 1662) the date of departure from Malacca is given as the 25th of May. The *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) notes that during the stay at Malacca the ships trimmed their boats and took in water and provisions. They also landed a Jesuit brought from Cochin "att the Governors entreaty" and having taken in two more "upon the same tearmes, togeather with a slender [inefficient] pillott for Macaw," they departed.

[3] Sincapura (the old European form of Singhapura, the modern Singapore) is really an island off the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula with a narrow strait between it and the mainland.

The *Continuation of the China Voyage* says that the ships first "entred the streights of Pulo Symbilan [Sembīlan] or the nyne Islands and soe passed through Sincapura." By the "streights of Pulo Symbilan" is meant the Selāt Sembīlan, a passage half a mile broad at the widest, between Tanjong Gul district S.W. Singapore and a group of islands which, however, are many more than nine (*sembīlan*).

[4] The smaller kind of oyster (Mal. *tiram*), very good to eat, is generally found clinging to the roots of the mangrove in the wash of the tide in the Indian islands. When Dampier was off the coast of Mexico (*Voyages*, II. 17), he found oysters in the creeks "and the Mangrove-Roots that grow by the sides of the Creeks are loaden with them; and so are all the Branches that hang in the Water."

Great scallop shells.

Here in the Oase were scalloppe shells, which by computation could nott wey lesse then 10 or 12 *ll.* each. Of these I have bin enformed by Portugalls, as allsoe by English, Thatt there are some as bigge as greatt bucklers and as heavy as 2 Men are able to carry[1].

The Distance and Course is here omitted, which may bee remedied as aforementioned in our passage From Battacala to Achein[2]; the windes and weather variable From Achein hitherto with many gusts, thunder, lightning and raine (somtimes).

Coynes, Waightts and Measures att Mallacca.

Ryalles of eightt worth 8 tangaes. A tanga is a coyned peece, allso Bazarucces[3], Bahares and Cattees[4] as att Achein.

A gantt, wherof 7 make 6 gallons Nearest hand[5], with Divers other Coins, Waightts and Measures Nott here sett Downe.

Abstractte of the Month of May 1637.

2. Wee sett saile From Achein. E. longitude from Achein.
11. Hope Iland: Here wee wooded there beeing store.
12. Sett saile att 10 att Nightt.
13. 3 other Ilands and Rockes.
14. Wee anchored att Nightt.
15. Wee wayed againe.

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[1] Mundy is describing the gigantic bivalve or clam (*Tridacna gigas*, *Chama gigas*, Mal. *kima*) found in great quantities in the Malay Archipelago. Linschoten (ed. Tiele, II. 16) remarks, "There are by Malacca certaine fish shelles found on the shore, much like Scalop shelles, so great and so heavie, that two strong men have enough to doe with a Leaver to draw one of them after them."

[2] See *ante*, pp. 115—116.

[3] For "Ryalles of eight," "tangaes" and "Bazarucces" see notes on p. 65.

[4] For "Bahares and Cattees" see note [2] on p. 137.

[5] Gantt, ganton, Mal. *gantang*, a dry measure of about a gallon.

16. Anthony Leigh[1], Midshippman, Died.
18. Richard Bromffeild[2], Midshippman, Died.
24. Wee anchored in the roade of Mallacca. From Achein hither 148⅓ leagues, 445 miles.
26. Wee wayed From thence.
31. Wee entred the straightts of Sincapura.
Gon this Month of Maye the some of Miles ... 565

Passed through the old straightt.

June Anno 1637. The First of this Month wee wentt through the old straightt[3] which May bee aboutt a good league in length and not above ¼ Mile broade att the Comming in and going outt, butt within wider, with many little baies, Creeks, Ilands, etts., Where wee saw sundry companies of small boates covered over with Mattes[4], which is the Ordinary habitation of those

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[1] Anthony Leigh, of the parish of St Olave, Southwark, belonged to the *Dragon*. His will, dated 13 March 1635/6, before the departure of the Courteen fleet from England, was proved in January 1638/9 by his wife Joan, and his effects were bequeathed to his wife and son Edward (*P.C.C. Wills*, 5 *Harvey*).

[2] I have found no other reference to this individual.

[3] The Old Strait of Singapore (Selāt Tebrau or Tembrau, the "Salleta de Brew" of Hamilton, p. 92) on the northern side of the island, was the passage into the China Sea used by the Portuguese, and later by the English and Dutch. It has long been adandoned for the passage on the southern side of the island, which Gerini (*Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 534 *n.* 1) says was first used by the Portuguese in 1615.

The writers of the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) say it was "a way never before Experienced by the English," and that an "exact draught thereof" was taken by "our Mathematicians." They add that the passage "called the old streight or the straight of Dom John de Silva" was "by us called Weddells straights, which is both securious and Commodious, and by the good observation of divers in the Fleett will (noe doubte) prove beneficiall to posteritie in the prosecution of this hopefull designe." Dom João da Silva was in command of the Spanish settlement at Manila in 1615 and died there in that year (See Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, II. 177). Neither his name nor that of Weddell was attached to the strait for any length of time. See the account of the passage through the Old Strait in 1825 (*Journal of a Voyage round the Island of Singapore*. Moor, *Indian Anchipelago*, pp. 269—273).

[4] Mundy is alluding to the ordinary Malay fishing boats with their cadjan (*kajang*) coverings. For an illustration, see Warrington Smyth, *Mast and Sail*, p. 338; see also Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*, Malay Industries pt. I, pp. 8—18.

thatt live among these Ilands, Where they have their wives, children and Household goods.

Pretty Fishing.

Here they broughtt us More Fish, Fresh and Dried, which I conceave is their Cheifest Mayntenaunce, Killing them with Fishgaes[1] in which they are very Dextrous, and a pretty sport it is to see them pursue the Fish with their little boates, who scudd before them as porpoises Doe before the stemme of a shippe in a gale of wynde untill they are strucke. They use allsoe netts, hookes and lynes.

There was likewise broughtt us From the shoare in those little boates Plantanes, Sugarcanes and pine-apples[2], which they sow and plant in certaine plottes, Butt all thatt wee could Discover by sightt, as well Ilands as Mayne, was quite overgrowne with trees and bushes.

Daunger escaped.

This Day comming Forth of the old straightt, through Negligence of our Pilot (beeing a Portugall Mestizo taken in att Mallacca as a passenger)[3], wee were in some Daunger when wee thoughtt ourselves Most secure, For hee Directed us on the starboard shoare when wee should [have] kept the larboard side, Falling among uneven ground and shallow water, having once butt $3\frac{1}{2}$ Fathom and a coites cast[4] farther nott 10

[1] Fishgae, fishgig, fizgig (Sp. *fisga*, harpoon). The *O.E.D.* has no example of Mundy's spelling of the word. See Dampier (1. 35) on "harpoons or fisgigs"; Wilkinson, *op. cit.* pt. 2 (Fishing), pp. 22—23.

[2] "Ananas" is the usual term for the pine-apple at this date. In his previous mention of the fruit (*ante*, p. 59) Mundy uses both terms.

[3] This was the "slender" pilot mentioned *ante*, note [2] on p. 144.

[4] A quoit's cast, the distance to which a quoit is commonly thrown, *i.e.*, 19 yards, though it varies from 15 to 20 yards.

Foote water. Butt God bee praised, wee gott clear off[1].

Byntaon : a number of small Ilands together.

The 2d June [1637]. Wee passed beetweene the Iles of Bintaon[2] and the Mayne. This Bintaon appeares like 2 greatt Ilands, but by relation they are a greatt Multitude of smalle ones lying close together, which to sightt seeme butt 2 great Ilands, as aforesaid[3].

Many small Ilands, rocks and shoalds, causing straunge Currentts.

From Pulo Carimaon[4] to Piedra Branca, all the sea over in a Manner is strowed with smalle Ilands, rockes and shoalds, causing straunge variable and strong currentts, sometymes keeping itts Dew course ebbing and Flowing every 6 and 6 howers ; sometymes running For 2 or 3 Daies together all one way (by relation) according to the windes that rule.

Piedra Branca.

The 3d Ditto [*June* 1637]. Wee passed by Pedra Branca[5] (or the white stone) and the Mayne. It is a

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[1] The narrowest part of the strait is about 7 miles north-eastward from Pulo Merambon. Weddell in his own account of the voyage (*O.C.* 1662) comments on the danger of the passage, and says it was accomplished " with much difficultie, for in the Channell we had but 4½ fathomes a shipps length from us, and on both sides but 17 and 18 foote hard rockie ground," but they " picked out the way and gott into deeper water and at last gott through these troublesome straights."

[2] Pulo Bintang (Bentān) on the south side of Singapore strait.

[3] Bintang is the largest of the crowd of islands at the eastern extremity of the Straits of Malacca.

[4] Pulo Karīmon. The islands of Great Karīmon (Krīmun) and Little Karīmon lie at the eastern end of the Straits of Malacca.

[5] Pedra Branca, or White Rock (so named by the Portuguese) a detached rock 24 ft. above sea level, lies in the middle of the eastern entrance of Singapore strait. Floris, who saw it in 1613, gives the same account of the origin of the name (*Journal de Pierre Will. Floris* in *Voyages de Thevenot*, pt. 2, p. 24).

noted Seamarcke, beeing a rocke appearing all white on the toppe, which (by report) is only the Dung of sea foule thatt roost and breed there.

A Daunger feared : Anchored often.

This Morning wee were faine to come to an anchor, Finding our selves sodainely sett with a strong race or currantt allmost uppon a bancke or shoald lying 2 or 3 leagues Distant from point Romaina[1], there running an exceeding swifft tide with a greatt noise over it as though there had bin very little water, butt sending to sound, there was found 3 or 4 Fathom on the toppe of it. Wee att length gotte clear of this allsoe. From Hope Iland [Pulo Berhala] the 11th past to the presentt I thincke wee anchored not lesse then 50 severall tymes.

Pulo Tingee : Pulo La ore.

The 4th currantt [*June* 1637]. Wee past by Pulo Tingi[2], a small Iland. Pulo in Malayo signiffies an Iland. Thatt afternoone wee came to Pulo la ore[3], another smalle Iland, where wee made accompt to have watred and wooded, butt Found it very Deepe Near the shoare and badde anchoring, soe passed onward[4].

Pretty boats and as prettily rowed.

As wee wentt by, there came off unto us From the said Iland aboutt 18 or 20 small boates of the Neatest forme and Making thatt I have yett seene among heathen,

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[1] Romania Point (Tanjong Panyuso, Point Wet-nurse) is generally considered the most southerly point of the Malay Peninsula, but it is nearly two miles eastward of South Point or Tanjong Tehimpang.

[2] Pulo Tinggi (High Island) off the east coast of Johor.

[3] Pulo Aor, or Awar (Bamboo Island), the most southerly of a chain of islets off the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula. It is still an important point for vessels both going to and coming from China. *Awar* in Malay signifies a large species of bamboo.

[4] The depths near Pulo Aor to the westward are 24 and 25 fathoms.

somwhatt resembling the Piramees att Constantinople[1] allthough Nothing Neare soe long nor bigge, some of them with little beakheads like Frigatts, with paddles having a blade att both ends like the blade of some great Iron Weapon, broad and sharpe pointed with the handle in the Middle[2] as per the Figure[3]. They row or paddle with alternative strokes, *viz.*, one stroke on the one side and the next on the other side and make good way.

White people under the equinoctiall lyne.

These broughtt us Goates, hennes, pineapples, plantaines, Coconutts etts. Many of the people as white as some Barbary Moores, which may seeme straunge considering they live allmost under the Eaquator[4] Some reason therof may bee the continuall Clowdes, Raine and Moysture incidentt to these partts which

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[1] See vol. I. p. 38, where Mundy spells the word peramee.

[2] Mundy is describing a Malay fishing canoe (*kōlek*).

[3] See Illustration No. 23.

[4] Mundy is no doubt describing people he saw, but they were not likely to have been pure natives of the islands. By "Barbary Moores" he means probably Hispano-Moorish half-breeds of the ports in North Africa, who would be of varying fairness in complexion; and the people he compares them with here may have been Talaing (Burma)-Malayan or Chino-Malayan half-breeds. Compare Gerini (*Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 509, last paragraph of note 2 to p. 506), as to the habits of the people of Pulo Condore, by way of accounting for colour or half-breed population. Many Mons (of which the seafaring Talaings are a branch) are very fair, but it is doubtful whether any of them could have been fisher-folk in Pulo Awar in Mundy's time. The old idea of nearness to the Equator affecting race-colour is demonstrably erroneous.

The only first-hand reference to a white population in this region that I know of (a very doubtful one) is in the missionary Abbé Favre's *Wild Tribes inhabiting the Malayan Peninsula*, ed. 1865. He says (p. 29): "I was told that in the forests of Pahang are found numerous tribes of Jakuns who are as white as Europeans; that they are small, but very good looking, and the Malays are fond of catching them. For this purpose they form a party and beat the forest in order to catch these poor creatures, just as a troop of European hunters pursue fallow deers. When they succeed in their chase they take them to Pahang or to Siam, where, on account of their whiteness and comeliness, they sell them very dear. Other persons who have also seen this species of Jakuns tell me that they are not as white as Europeans, but that they approach more to the colour of the Chinese, which is the most probable."

No. 26. A Leicheea.

No. 23. Pretty boates.

No. 25. La Varella

No. 24. Monstrous Scallop Shells.

Mittigates the heatt of the sunne. These people are subject to the King of Paon [Pahang].

Pulo Babee : Pulo Tymoaone.

From hence wee past by Pulo Babee[1], another smalle inhabited Iland some 3 leagues asunder, and 3 leagues Farther wee came to Pulo Tymoane, a pretty bigge Iland[2] and there anchored.

The 6th of June [1637]. Wee wentt on shoare to wood and Water, wherof there was store[3], there beeing some houses in the woodes like to those att Achein[4]; plantaines, potatoes[5], sugar Canes growing among the bushes, butt questionlesse sowed there by the people, allthough in a carelesse confuzed way, Palmito trees, whose toppes are good Meatt, especially boyled or roasted and buttred[6]. Here were allsoe of the same

[1] Pulo Babi, Hog Island, 9 miles north-west of Pulo Tinggi, off the east coast of Johor.

[2] Pulo Tioman (*tiyuman*) ? Sand-bath Island, about 22 miles north-west of Pulo Aor. It is 11 miles in extent and 2 to 6 miles broad, and is the largest of a chain of islets off Pahang.

[3] Fresh water is obtainable at Pulo Tioman from a small rivulet running into a sandy bay at the south-west of the island, and abundance of firewood can be procured near the shore. In the present day vessels seldom touch at this island. In Neuhoff's account of the *Dutch Embassy to China* in 1655 (p. 29), " Pau[l]o Tymon " is described as a " pleasant, wondrous, and delightful Island . . . full of Woods, Hills, and Dales." In the Log of the *Rising Sun* (*Marine Records*, vol. CLII.) under date 17th June 1701, it is said to be " so very high you can seldome see the top of it, by reason of the thick foggs and mist that continually hangs about it. . . . Tymoan is gross Sand mixt with white broken Shells."

[4] See *ante*, p. 132. For Malay Houses, see Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*—Life and Customs—pt. 2, pp. 9—19.

[5] The Sweet Potato, *Batata edulis* (*Convolvulus Batatas*, Linn.), Malay *Ubi-Jawa*. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Sweet Potato.

[6] The Wild Palm (*Nipa fruticans*). Mundy is referring to the " cabbage " or edible heart at the end of the stem of a palm whence the leaves spring. It is still eaten, when opportunity offers, as an expensive delicacy, in the manner described by Mundy. Compare Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 81 :—" Wild Nutmeg, Cabage, and Mango trees, are common in the Woods [at Pulo Condore] . . . The Cabage seems to be no other than a wild Coco-nut Tree ; I saw no Fruit it had ; the Cabage is the Heart of it, which is always fit to be cut, and the Coco-nut Tree has it likewise in great Perfection ; I have eat of both sorts, and find no difference ; nor is either of them gather'd without Destruction to the Tree."

Manner of prowes as were att Pulo La ore, and by any Mans Judgementt could nott way 40 *ll.* each, some of them, made of very fine lightt boards fastned one to the other with Wooden pynnes as Coopers Doe the heads of some Caske, For wee could not perceave Neither within nor withoutt any Nayling or sowing or how it was Joyned, except some peeces att both ends which were pynned[1].

Monstrous scallope shells.

Here in the Oase aboutt low water Marcke were sundry couples of great Scallop shells, lying open, the Fish Dead long since it seemes, For the shells were much Decayed and worne with tyme and washing of the sea. One of the said shells I gott outt with some helpe, had it broughtt aboard, and presented it to our Admirall [Captain J. Weddell]. It was in length 6 of my spannes, which is above 4 Foote, and Mightt weigh att least one hundred waightt, by some thought Much More[2]. I went ashoare For another For my selffe, and with Mr Barons[3] and Mr Smarts[4] helpe gotte one outt of the Oase butt the boate beeing some Distance offe, I could nott gett it shipped. The whole shell fish being alive could not weigh lesse then 3 hundredwaightt[5], thatt which I

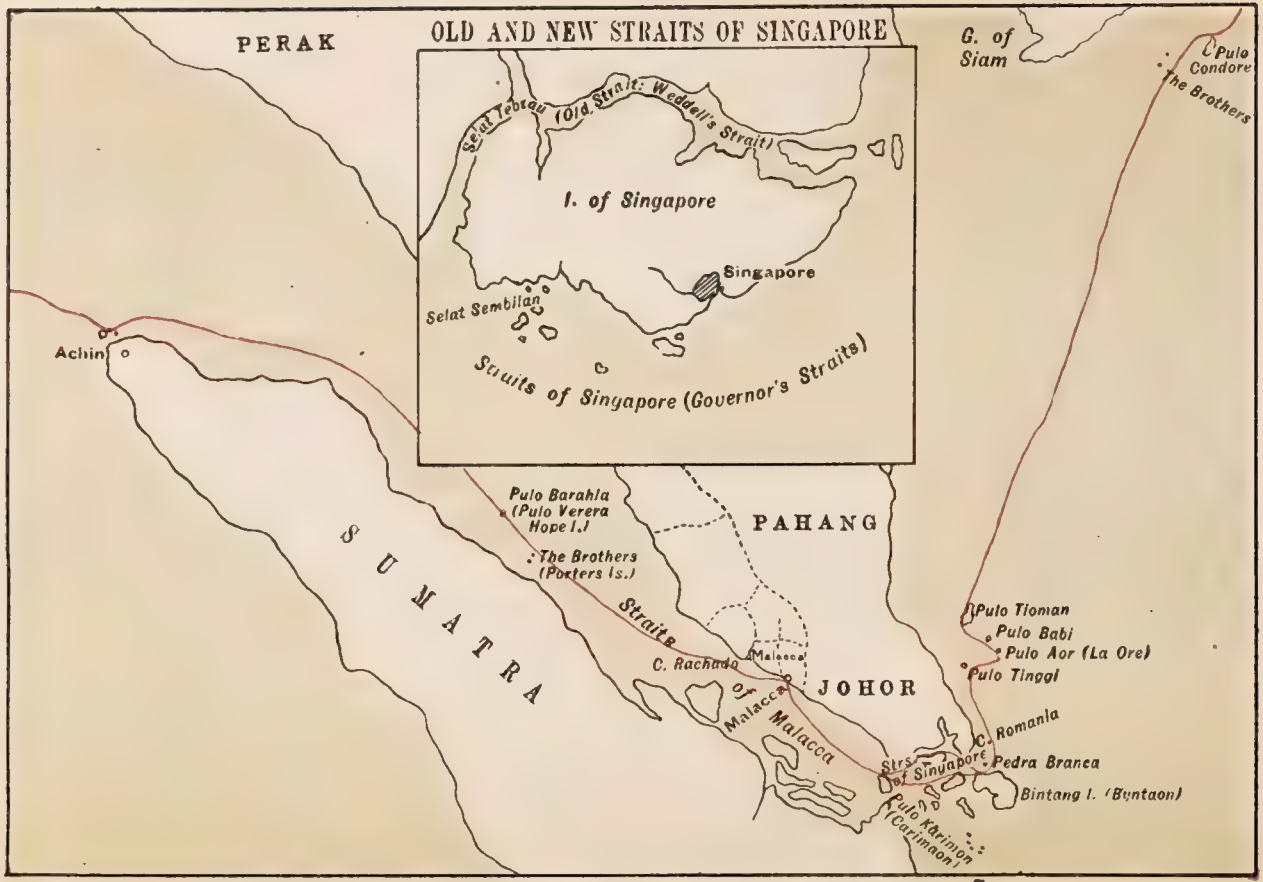
[1] See *ante*, pp. 149—150.

[2] See *ante*, p. 145. The editor has in his possession a *Tridacna gigas* shell, brought from Malacca Village in Camorta, one of the Nicobar Islands, the dimensions of which are 3 ft. 4 in. in length and 2 ft. in width. Mundy probably measured with his hands round the flutes of the shell. The largest known to Marsden, *Sumatra*, p. 15 *note*, was " 3 ft. 3½ in. in its largest diameter and 2 ft. 1¼ in. across." The Nicobarese name for this shell is *kendu*. Mandelslo's " Oyster-shells " from " the Indies " weighing 467 lbs. and those at Java weighing 300 lbs. (p. 118) were no doubt specimens of the same variety of *Tridacna*.

[3] For a note on William Baron, one of the merchants of the *Catherine*, see *ante*, p. 21.

[4] John Smart, one of the merchants who sailed in the *Catherine*.

[5] This is a moderate estimate. A pair of the bivalves may weigh 500 lbs.



Mundy's Route from Achin to Pulo Condore and vice versâ, 1637-1638.

brought beeing butt one of the 2 wherof itt consists, there beeing in thatt place 20 or 30 couples of them, and are thus Figured: No. 1 the inside: No. 2 the backside[1].

Munkies with square broad bushy beards.

Here are allsoe greatt greene pidgeons such as are att Battacala[2], Maynas or a foule much like them[3], and there was bought and broughtt aboard a Munkey with a greatt broad Bushy beard; other sorts of a blackish Coulloure with white beards are Found on this Coaste[4].

The 7th [*June* 1637]. Att evening wee sett saile From Pulo Tyamoane and steered for Pulo Condore[5]. Thatt nightt wee had Foule weather.

The 11th [*June* 1637]. Wee were outt of sightt of land.

The 12th [*June* 1637]. Att Nightt wee anchored.

The 13th [*June* 1637]. Wee saw Pulo Condore[6] aboutt 10 leagues offe, passing by within 2 leagues off some smalle Ilands on the starboard side[7].

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[1] See Illustration No. 24.

[2] See *ante*, p. 100.

[3] *Maina*, the Oriental talking starling. See vol. II. p. 120. The bird seen by Mundy was probably *Eubales javanensis*.

[4] Mundy's "Munkies" were macaques (Port. *macaco*) and the variety he saw was probably *Macacus nemestrinus*. See *Fasciculi Malayenses*, where one of this species is described with "a very marked ruff of almost white hair round its face." The wanderoo (*Macacus silenus*) also has the face encircled by a kind of mane of long hair.

[5] The fleet, after hugging the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, now sailed direct for Macao, crossing the Gulf of Siam in order to make Pulo Condore en route. The usual present course from Singapore eastwards is to make Pulo Aor and then cross the Gulf of Siam.

[6] Pulo Condore (Mal. Pulo Kundur, Pumpkin Island) the principal island of the Pulo Condore group, about 50 miles from the coast of Cambodia, in the track of vessels from Singapore to Saigon. Gerini (*Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 90 *n.*) infers that the Chinese name for Pulo Condore, Hsiao K'un-lun, denotes that the island was a Dravidian (S. Indian) or Malay settlement.

[7] The Brothers, two small islands lying about 40 miles east of the coast of Cochin China and about 24 miles from Pulo Condore.

The 15*th* [*June* 1637]. Our Men said they saw the land of Camboia and Champa[1].

A Juncke of Japaneses.

The 16*th* [*June* 1637]. Wee spake with a Juncke of Japans, which came From Camboia, bound For Cauchinchina[2] where the said Japans Dweltt, beeing Christians, and aboutt 6 yeares since were forced to Forsake their Country and com into these parts: The Emperour of Japan enraged against Christians, compelling them either to Fly, turne or Dye[3].

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[1] Cambodia, Champa and Cochin China, together with Annam and Tongking, form nowadays the French territory of the Far East, L'Extrême Orient. But the political situation was quite different in Mundy's time. The once great and ancient Hindu and Buddhist Khmer (Mon race) Kingdom of Cambodia (Kambūja), whose kings were the builders, at Angkor, of the finest structures in the Far East, ceased to be of general importance after the destruction of that place in 1385 by the Siamese Shāns of Ayuthia. By Mundy's day it had become the scene of a long and varying struggle between the Siamese Shāns of Ayuthia and the Annamese Nguyēns of Huē supporting rival claimants to the throne of Cambodia at Pnompenh, the new capital of the Khmers. This lasted till 1846 when the Siamese ousted the Annamese and set up their own vassal claimant, having in the interval absorbed the Khmers.

Chāmpā, an almost equally ancient and prominent Hindu and Buddhist kingdom of the Chāms (also a Mon race), with much older important structures at Panrang (Pānduranga) and elsewhere than those of the Khmers at Angkor, was absorbed by the Annamese (Chinese Giaos, Giaochī, called also Nguyēns, Ngwins) of the Second Le Dynasty in 1470, after a practically continuous struggle of about 500 years. But the name stuck to their country long afterwards and the Chāms had " chiefs " till 1820.

[2] Cochin China (in Chinese, Cheng Chin and Ko Cheng Chin; in Malay, Kūchi, whence Port. Cochin) as a geographical expression has meant the whole coast and has been restricted to modern Cochin-China and Annam, and lastly to the area in the south now called by the French Cochin Chine, with its capital at Saigon. It includes Chāmpā.

The French came originally into the Far East as a result of the struggle of two important families ruling in the name of the Second Le Dynasty (Annamese), the Nguyēns of Huē (Annam) and the Trinhs of Hanōi (Tongking). This began in 1551. In 1787 Nguyēn Gialong called in the aid of the French (Louis XVI.), and with their assistance became Emperor (Vua) of Tongking, Annam and Cochin China in 1801. To this Empire, together with Cambodia, in due course the French succeeded by 1867.

[3] The first attempts to introduce Christianity into Cochin China were in 1583 and 1595, and by 1615 Spanish and Portuguese Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries were active there. The persecution of Christians in Japan began much earlier than Mundy's date for it, 1630. In 1596 seven Franciscan monks were executed at Nagasaki.

Dutch vessels lying in wait for Portugalls and bound for Tywan.

The 17th [*June* 1637]. There came uppe with us a Dutch vessell come From Battavia And bound for Tywan, a place of theires on Isla Fermosa[1] on the Coast of Chincheo in China[2]. Shee kept company with us ½ Day and then stood in to the shoare to awaite For Portugalls thatt com this way bound For China. Shee had a consortt nott farre offe.

La Varella : a very high rocke or stone.

The 18th June [1637]. Wee past by la Varella[3], which is an exceeding high rocke or stone, even and

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In 1618 Richard Cocks saw a boat load of "banished Christians" from Kokura going to Nagasaki; in 1620 he notes the destruction of churches and monasteries there; and in 1622 he records a massacre of priests and of Christian Japanese. See Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, II. 94; *Diary of Richard Cocks*, ed. Maunde Thompson, II. 67, 315, 334; *Recit de la persecution des Chrestiens du Japon* in *Voyages de Thevenot*, vol. I. pt. 2, pp. 34—48; see also Mandelslo, pp. 154—155 for "Diabolical inventions to put Christians to death" in Japan.

The Japanese Christians referred to by Mundy no doubt made for Cochin China because of their expectation of meeting co-religionists, and because of the long establishment of Islām there (from about 1300) and the fact that many of the Chāms were Muhammadans.

[1] Tai-wan (The Terraced Harbour) or Formosa, called Ilha Formosa (Beautiful Isle) by the Portuguese. The Dutch occupied a large part of the island from 1624 till 1662 when they were expelled by the Chinese. The old Dutch fort (Zelandria) at Tai-wan-fu still exists

[2] Mundy is using the European term current in his day for the Chinese Province of Fuhkien, off the coast of which, as he says, lies the island of Formosa. The term Chincheo grew out of the name of a port in Fuhkien in the Formosa Channel, well known to mediæval and early English travellers, and is now variously identified with Chwan-chau-fu (Fr. Thisiouan-cheou-fou, Chinchew, Chincheo), the Zayton of Marco Polo, and Chang-chau-fu which is some 140 miles distant.

[3] Cape Varella (Mui Nai, Pagoda Cape), lat. 12° 55′ N. and long. 109° 26′ E., so called because on the top of the hill behind it is a large perpendicular rock resembling a chimney, which the native mariners mistook for a pagoda. Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis*, p. 63, says, "Cabo Avarelles being a very high mountain, appears a great distance off like a Man on Horse-back, and serves for a Beacon." In the Log of the *Carolina* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXXVIII.), under date 31st May 1683, "Cape Averella" is described as "a hye land that have a rock a little within, yet is one the hye land. This rock is lyke a light house and is verie remarkable," and in the Log of the *Oley* (*op. cit.*, vol. 704A), under date 2nd March 1707, "Cape Avarello" is said to be "very remarkable Land, having a high rock on the top makeing like a Steple."

straightt, resembling a tower, standing Near the toppe of a high Mountaine by the sea side, allmost such another as wee saw by Shehana [Siwānā] comming with a Caphila [*kāfila*, caravan] From Agra as in the forepart of this booke[1]. The figure of it is thus[2]:

This Varella Divides Champa From Cauchin-China, 2 kingdomes att variance aboutt itt each striving to have it added to his Dominion[3]. It may bee aboutt 10 or 12 yeards high: one of Natures Wonders. Itt is much reverenced by the Chineses and Japones who performe certaine superstitious Duties unto itt as they passe this way with their vessells The Coast of Champa very hilly, barren, rocky and sandy, abounding (by report) with wild beasts, as Elephantts, Rinocerosses, Tygers etts. The Coast of Cochinchina better to see to, beeing low and levell.

The Iland and gulffe of Aynaon.

The 22th [*June* 1637]. Wee saw the Iland of Aynaon [Hainan]. Beetweene this and Pulo Caetaon lieth a greatt inlett or gulffe called [blank[4]], And beetweene Pulo Caetaon and Sanchean [St John I. or San Shan] by Macao is accompted the gulffe of Aynaon, somtimes Daungerous For greatt Seas, Currantts, Foule wether, etts.

Tympaon.

The 23d [*June* 1637]. Wee were thwart off Tympaon where Captain Carter in the *Unicorne* was cast away, as afforementioned[5].

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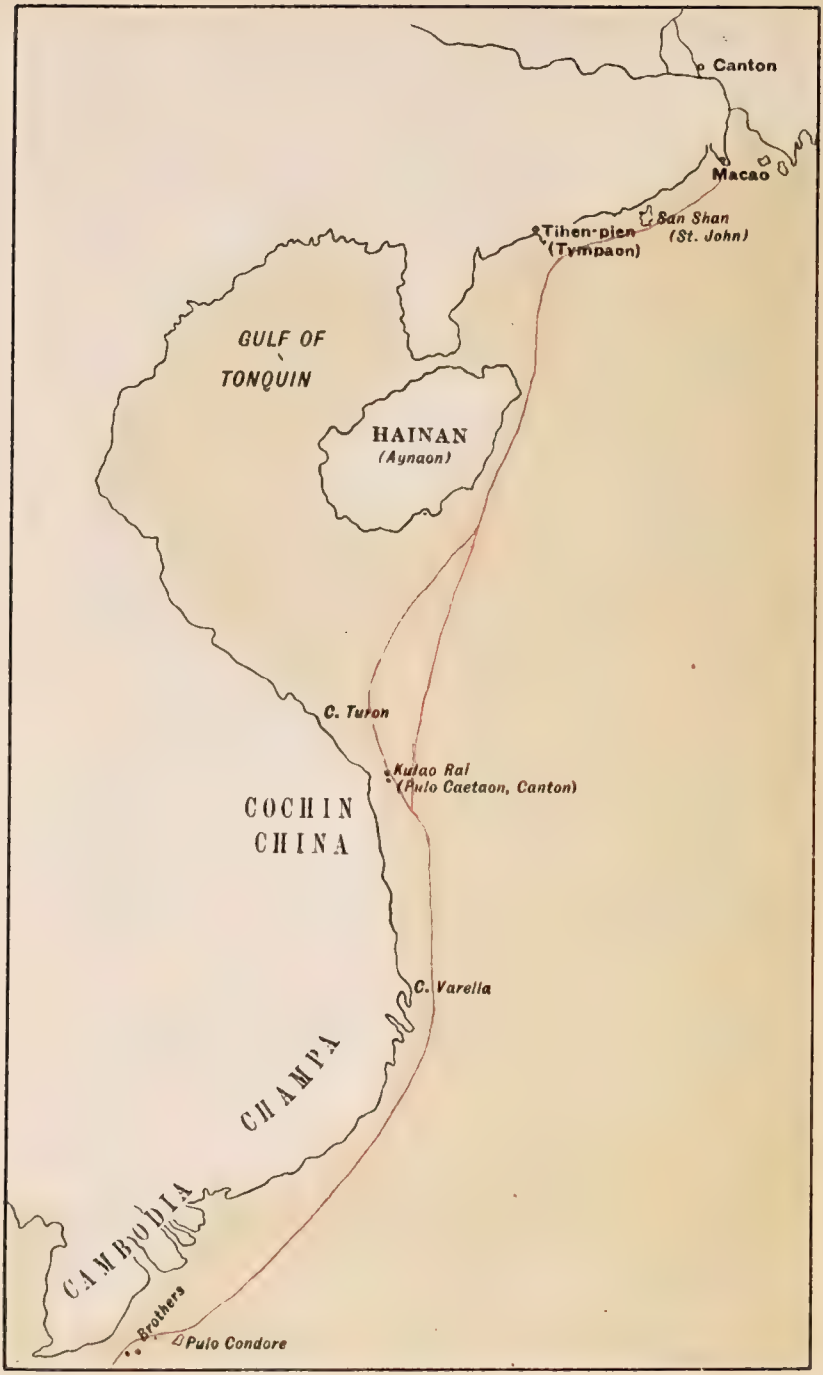
[1] See vol. II. p. 252. [2] See Illustration No. 25.

[3] Mundy's history is here accurate. See note [1], p. 154.

[4] Mundy's Pulo Caetaon is Kulao Rai (Kulai Rai, Broken Face) or Pulo Canton, an island off the coast of Cochin China (Annam). In the Log of the *Rising Sun* (*Marine Records*, vol. CLII.), under date 11th December 1701, Pulo Canton appears as Pullo Cattao. "This Pullo Cattao are 2 little Islands and pretty high out of the Water; they lye within 4 or 5 Miles of the Coast of Cutchin China."

[5] Tympaon represents Tihen-pien, the first considerable town in China north of Hainan. For the wreck of the *Unicorn*, see *ante*, p. 141.



Mundy's Route from Pulo Condore to Macao and vice versâ, 1637–1638.

Spawne off fishes.

The 24th [June 1637] as allsoe yesterday, wee saw in the Sea Many greatt yellowish spottes, our shippe passing through some of them, they beeing only spawne of Fish, butt of whatt sort wee could nott tell[1].

The Iland of Sanchoan where Francisco Xavier died and was buried.

The 25th [June 1637]. In the Morning wee saw the Iland of Sanchoan, Pulo Babee and others[2]. In the said Iland of Sanchoan Died Fran[c]isco Xavier, and there buried. From thence afterward removed to Goa.[3] This was beefore Macao was founded[4], For the Portugalles att the beeginning of their trade had only boothes and straw houses (I take it in the place where now Macao stands), which they sett uppe at the tyme of their arrivall to the Mart and att their Departure sett fire of them as wee use to doe with our bazar on Swally Sands in India[5].

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[1] Mundy seems to be describing some species of jelly-fish. Osbeck also (*Voyage to China*, 1751, I. 176) saw, when nearing the Chinese coast, "a lump of narrow, smooth, round water-coloured worms, which hung together without any order, and seemed to be a torn *Medusa*."

[2] San Shan or the Three Hills, also called Shang-ch'uan, Upper Streams. The Portuguese rendered the name as Sancian and the English as St John.

Mundy's "Pulo Babee" (Hog Island) was the Malay name for Haucheun or False St John. It appears as "Pulo Baby" in the Logs of the *Macclesfield* and *Kent* in 1701 and 1707 (*Marine Records*, vols. CLXV., 317A), and in Dunn's *East India Directory* (ed. 1780, p. 401), we find the name still persisting:—"Those who are bound to Macao, must get sight of the Island Sanciam (or St John), or Pulo Outchou [Haucheun] (or Pulo Baby), whose south point is in latitude 21° 30′ N."

[3] See *ante*, note [4], p. 60.

[4] The Portuguese occupied Macao in 1557 and were permitted to erect factories there. For a discussion of the methods by which they obtained a footing, see De Jesus, *Historic Macao*, pp. 20—26.

[5] See vol. 33, p. 312. Here is a marginal note, "The manner of the Portugalls First trading."

The 26th [June 1637]. Wee passed by other Ilands, as Veados, esmeroos[1], etts.

Anchored 3 leagues short of Macao: Warning to proceed no Farther.

The 27[th June 1637]. Wee came by a small Iland called Monton de Trigo[2], and passing in among other Ilands, wee came to anchor some 3 leagues shortt of Macao, and saluted the place with our Ordnance. Within a while came a boate unto us, warning us to proceed no farther till wee had order From the Generall of the Citty.

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[1] The identification I propose of Mundy's "Veados" rests on the following statements. The "Iles Vyades" appear in the badly drawn map at the beginning of Neuhoff's *Embassy to China*, 1655. In Hamilton's map of the Sea Coasts of China (II. fcg. 119) "I. Viados" is marked between "St Juan" and Macao, and he says, when describing his visit to Canton in 1703 (p. 219), "We . . . anchored near some Islands called Les Ilhos de Viados by the Portuguese . . . the Maccao Islands . . . were about 15 Leagues from us." Again, in the Log of the *Kent* off Macao, under date 27th August 1707 (*Marine Records*, vol. 317A), the "S.most land" as the vessel entered Taipa Anchorage was "the point of great Viada." Also in the Log of the *Howland*, under date 27th July 1711 (*Marine Records*, vol. 696C), "As we run in with the land, Mountania [Montanha] now bears NNW and the Villados from WSW to NWbN; 5 or 6 of them is now in Sight." Lastly, Dunn (*East India Directory*, ed. 1780, p. 410) says: "On the approach of a gale of wind, if I could not gain Cabretta Bay [Taipa Anchorage] before night, and was the length of the Viados, or any islands west of Colong [Kaulan], I would anchor within them."

The above statements show that a group of islands between St John (San Shan) and Kaulan were known to the old travellers as the Viades, the largest being Great Viados. The group cannot have included the islands of Waikaup and Liuchiu which are both close to St John. East of these and west of Kaulan lie Taikam, Kukok and Taimong, with other smaller islands in their neighbourhood, and it is to this group that the Portuguese name Viades must have been applied. Kukok and Taimong islands probably represent Mundy's "Veados and Esmeroos," though it is impossible to state with certainty which of the several islands are thus indicated.

[2] Mundy's Monton de Trigo represents Wung-kum or Montanha Island, forming the east side of the entrance to the Broadway, the chief entrance of the Chu Kiang (Si-kiang or Canton) River. The island was known to English mariners as Mount Trego three quarters of a century later than Mundy's time, and it appears under that name in the Log of the Oley (*Marine Records*, vol. 704A) under date 26th February 1707.

Our landing ashore in Macao: and Delivery of our Kings letter.

The 28th June 1637. Mr John Mountney, Mr Thomas Robinson and my selffe were sent ashoare in the barge with our Kings Majesties lettre and our Admiralls to the Captaine Generall of Macao[1]. They were receaved with much respectt and an Answear promised the Next Day[2].

Copy of the King of England's Letter[3], 20th February 1635 [1636] (*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Book 41, fol. 200).

Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. I and you, the benevolent Governor of Macau, Captain of the fortress of my brother the King of Spain, were advised by letters from my brother the King of Spain and his Viceroy and Council of State of India of the special friendship

[1] For copies of these letters and replies from the Portuguese, see *infra*.

[2] The writers of the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) state that the "Captaine Generall," Domingos da Camara, was "a Mulatta of a most perverse and pevish Condition, reported to have bin a Tinker." They further remark that the envoys, "Being Come under a Forte att the mouth off the harbour, they were detayned till newes was Carryed up to the towne, And after 3 or 4 howres Expectance were sent for upp, and being brought into the Genneralls hall where his Councell were assembled, Thomas Robinson delivered his Majesties letter, and soe they were instantly dismissed, being told that the next day they might Expect an answeare abourd."

I have found no confirmation of the disparaging remarks regarding the ancestry of Domingos da Camara de Noronha, who had recently succeeded Manoel da Camara de Noronha as Captain General. Domingos was appointed by the Viceroy in 1636 and appears to have left Goa early in that year, but the vessel in which he sailed went ashore at Manila, whence the Spanish Governor sent him on to Macao in a "Galliot" (*galeota*, small galley). See *Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons, Translations*, vols. IX. and XI., Letters of the Viceroy to the King of 8th March 1636 and 31st August 1638 N.S.

[3] No copies of the correspondence between Courteen's merchants and the Portuguese and Chinese authorities at Macao and Canton have been discovered among the English records. Those given here and in *Relations* XXV. and XXVI., as well as those in *Relations* XXI. and XXII., are taken from transcripts (made for the India Office) of Portuguese Records in the Lisbon Archives, which have been translated by Miss Leonora de Alberti for the purposes of this volume. The documents are entitled "Books of the Monsoons, Documents transmitted from India."

and treaty which had been concluded between us. For this reason, approving thereof, in sign of our royal will, we have dispatched our officials and captains, John Betel [Weddell] and Nathaniel Montiney [Mountney], bearing our royal letters, with the ships *Dragon*, *Sun*, *Catherine*, *Planter* [and pinnace] *Ann*, which sail with our special order and command to show that we accept and abide by the treaties concluded by both parties [as regards] the commerce with Portugal and all other places and ports under our rule. We desire that this order be kept by the officials on our side, license being given them under your authority to trade openly and freely; and [we desire] all that is necessary for their equipment and voyages, both outward and homeward shall be given them, if asked for by them. Thus shall we be bound in eternal friendship with the officials and our brother the King of Spain, both in commerce as in all other matters within our lands and dominions, &c.

Given in our Palace at Whitehall, 20th February 1635 [1636] in the eleventh year of our reign.

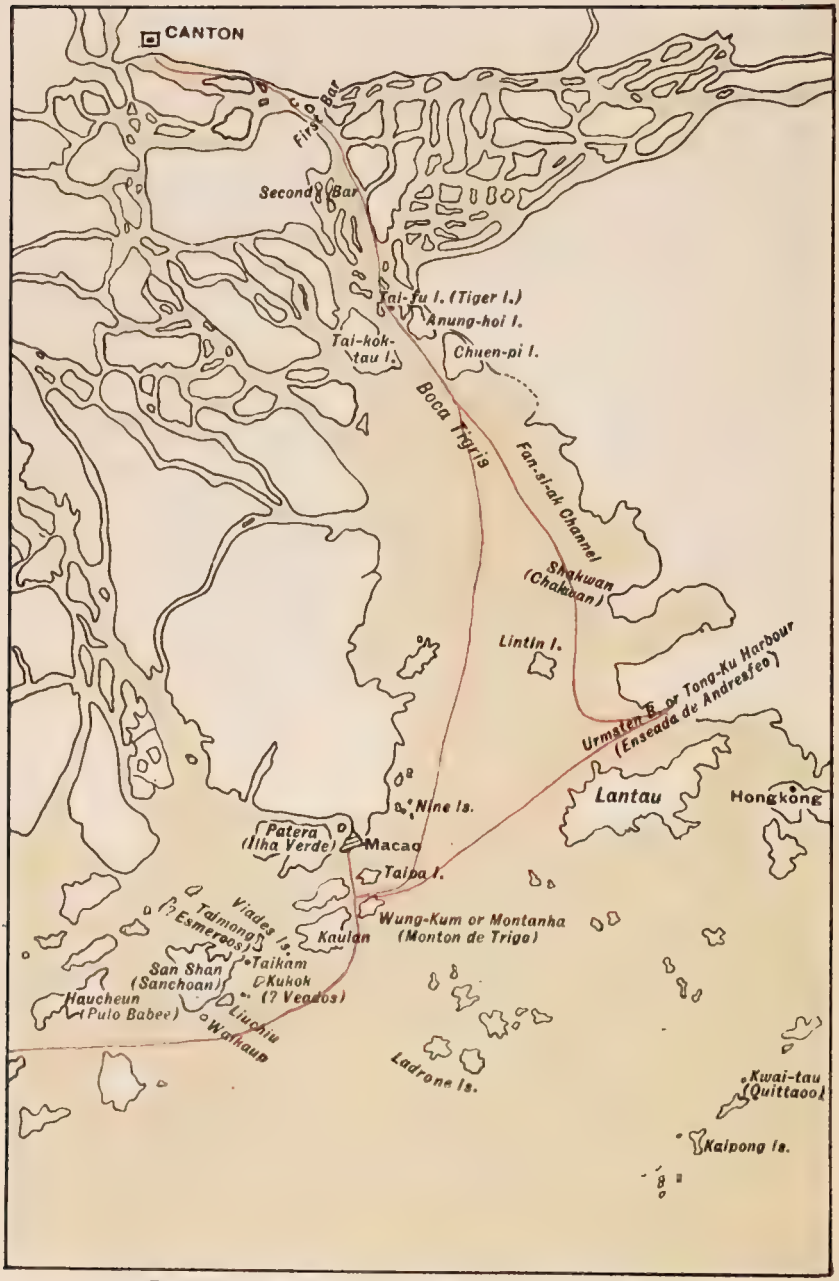
Agrees with the original.

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

Copy of the first letter written by the English to the Captain General, Domingos da Camara (*Lisbon Transcripts*, *op. cit.*, fol. 199).

Your Excellency is well aware that thirty months have elapsed since his Excellency the President of Surrate [Surat], with the members of his Council, went to Goa at the invitation of his Excellency the Count de Linhares, to conclude the Treaty of Peace between the English and Portuguese nations[1], at which time I was present at the

[1] President William Methwold in the *Jonas*, under Captain John Weddell, accompanied by three other of the East India Company's ships, reached Goa in January 1635 and concluded an agreement with the Viceroy, Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares. This agreement put an end to hostilities between the English and Portuguese in the East and quenched the feud which had continued for more than thirty-six years. See Foster, *English Factories*, 1634—1637, pp. viii—x.



Macao and the Canton River, 1637

Council of Goa, and left that harbour for England, as Commander-in-Chief[1] to bear to the King my Lord, his Excellency the Count's letter, and news of the friendship established. The King, my Master, greatly rejoiced that peace had been concluded, and desires to be at peace with the Portuguese rulers. In witness of the truth thereof, he sent me back to India with a reply to his Excellency's letters, and with all the munitions of war and ships' stores which his Excellency desired. In Goa we were very well received by all the authorities. We delivered to the Comptroller of the Exchequer the munitions and stores, and we have receipts thereof. We also bought and sold freely. We went to Cananor, Cochim and Malacca, where we were received with great courtesy and kindness.

Having now reached your Excellency's port, we are confident that we shall receive here many more favours, being bearers of a letter to your Excellency from the King, my Master, which the bearer of this carries with him. We are at anchor in the island of Castro[2], in accordance with your Excellency's order. We shall await here your Excellency's answer to my Master's letter, and are at your Excellency's orders, whose reply I await, as also your Excellency's instructions how I am to act. I am in good health and trust that your Excellency enjoys the same, and offer my self as your servant. God keep you many years &c.

Your Excellency's servant,

JOHN WED[D]ELL.

Island of Castro,

7th July 1637.

Agrees with the original

Domingos de Figueiredo.

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[1] Weddell in the *Jonas*, with Nathaniel Mountney, sailed from Goa after the negotiations were concluded, and reached England in August 1635.

[2] Castro Island may have been the current Portuguese name for Koho Island at the eastern entrance to the ordinary anchorage at Taipa for ships going into Macao. It appears in early logs as "Cuwho, Cowow." See the Log of the *Carolina*, under date 10 July 1683, and the Log of the *Kent* under dates 27 and 31 August 1707 (*Marine Records*, vols. LXXVIII. and 317A).

The Jesuitts Collidge, as allsoe of the roffe of St Paules Church.

From the Generalls house wee were conducted to the Jesuitts Collidge[1] (having broughtt 2 of them passengers From Mallacca)[2], where they made us a Collation or Banquett off sweet Meats, Fruit, etts. Among the rest a Fruitt Named Leicheea[3], as bigge as a Wallnutt, ruddy browne and Crusty, the skynne like to thatt of the Raspis [raspberry] or Mulberry, butt hard, which Doath easily and cleanly come offe, having within a Cleare white (somwhatt) hard palpy[4] substance, in tast like to those Muscadine grapes thatt are in Spaine in some Country houses aboutt their Courtts etts. They are nott offensive to the stomacke, allthough a man eat many of them, and now hard to bee gotte, the season going outt. It is said they are proper only to this Kingdome of China, And to speake my owne Mynde, it is the prettiest and pleasauntest Fruit thatt ever I saw or tasted. There is another sort like them butt they have another Name and may bee compared allmost as Crabbes are to gardein apples[5]. The rooffe of the Church aperteyning to the Collidge (called St Paules) is of the fairest Arche that yett I ever saw to my remembrance, of excellentt worckemanshippe, Don by the

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[1] The Church of St Paul, the seat of the Jesuit College at Macao, completed in 1602, was burnt down in January 1835, the façade alone escaping destruction.

[2] See *ante*, note [2] on p. 144.

[3] See Illustration No. 26. Here is a marginal note, "Leicheea: a fruit Commended." The *Li-chi* (*Nephelium Lit-chi*), a native of S. China, is noted by Neuhoff in 1655. He says (*Dutch Embassy to China*, p. 263), "the Portuguese at Macao call it Lichas." Dampier, who saw it at Tonquin in 1688, describes it (II. 23, 24) as "a delicate fruit." See also Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Leechee.

[4] An unusual spelling for "pulpy." There is no example of this form in the *O.E.D.*

[5] The inferior *li-chi* is the Lungan or Longans (*Nephelium longana* or *Euphoria longana*), *lung-yen*, dragon's eye (Cantonese *lung-ngán*, the Imperial glance). The fruit is smaller and not so palatable when raw as the *Nephelium Lit-chi*, but it is harder.

Chinois[1], Carved in wood, curiously guilt and painted with exquisite collours, as vermillion, azure, etts., Devided into squares, and att the Joyning of each square greatt roses of Many Folds or leaves one under another, lessning till all end in a Knobbe ; neare a yard Diameter the broadest, and a yard perpendiculer to the Knobbe standing From the roffe Downeward. Allsoe there is a New Faire Frontispice to the said Church with a spacious ascent to it by many steppes ; the 2 last things mentioned of hewen stone[2].

Jesuitts calling themselves Paulists and wherefore.

As the Church is Named St Paules, soe Doe they stile themselves Paulists[3], as Paules Disciples in imitating or Following him in his Function, For as hee was Cheiffe in conversion of the gentiles in those Daies, Soe Doe

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[1] In the 17th century natives of China were designated by Europeans as Chinois and Chineses. Mundy employs both terms. St Paul's was, however, the work of Japanese Christians. See De Jesus, *Historic Macao*, p. 49.

[2] Pêre Alexandre de Rhodes, who spent 13 years (between 1623 and 1645) at Macao, says that the Jesuit College could bear comparison with the finest in Europe and the Church was the most magnificent that he had seen, with the exception of St Peter's at Rome (*Voyages et Missions*, ed. 1884, p. 56). Ljungstedt, *Portuguese Settlements in China*, pp. 17—18, has the following description of St Paul's at Macao. "The noble building commonly designated by the name of St Paul . . . was erected in 1602 as expressed by VIRGINI MAGNAE MATRI CIVITAS MACAENSIS LUBENS POSUIT AN. 1602—an inscription engraved on a stone fixed in the western corner of the edifice. The old church was consecrated to our Lady, the mother of God "nosse Senhora da madre de Deos," and so is the modern. The frontispiece, all of granite, is particularly beautiful. The ingenious artist has contrived to enliven Grecian architecture by devotional objects. In the middle of the ten pillars of Ionic order, there are three doors, leading to the temple ; then range ten pillars of Corinthian order, which constitute five separate niches. In the middle one, above the principal door, we perceive a female figure, trampling on the globe, the emblem of human patriotism, and underneath we read MATER DEI. On each side of the Queen of Heaven, in distinct places, are four statues of Jesuit saints. In the superior division, St Paul is represented, and also a Dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost." See also, for further details, the description of Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, pp. 49—50.

[3] The earliest instance of this word in the *O.E.D.* is 1678, and it is there applied to the Jesuits of Goa.

they attribute thatt office More peculier to themselves in converting the heathen off these tymes. And to speake truly, they Neither spare Cost nor labour, Dilligence Nor Daunger to attaine their purpose.

Macao.

Macao standeth at one end of a greatt Iland built on rising hills, some gardeins and trees among their houses making a pretty prospecte somwhatt resembling Goa, allthough not soe bigge[1]; Their houses double tyled, and thatt plaistred over againe, for prevention of Hurracanes or violentt wyndes thatt happen some Yeares, called by the Chinois Tuffaones[2], which is allso the reason (as they say) they build no high towers Nor steeples to their Churches.

Ilands aboutt Macao.

Beeffore Macao are many Ilands, some greater some lesse some inhabited, most part nott; high uneven land, no trees, much grasse and plenty of water springs; very stony, many great ones such as wee have in some part off the Westcountry, called Moorestones[3]; Many China vessells passing to and Fro, none coming near us except the aforementioned Watche [guard] boates[4] or some other with the Governours leave.

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[1] See Illustration No. 27. Macao, Cantonese, O-mún (Mandarin, O-mên), gate of the bay, called by the Portuguese Macau. For a fanciful derivation, see De Jesus, *Historic Macao*, pp. 26—28.

Macao is situated on a tongue of land 2½ miles long by less than a mile broad, running S.S.W. from the island of Hsiang Shang (Port. Ançam) on the west side of the estuary of the Canton River. See Neuhoff, p. 31 and Montanus, pp. 531—532 for contemporary descriptions.

[2] Typhoon, Ar. *tūfān*, Port. *tufão*, a cyclone, violent storm. Some Chinese scholars, however, still ascribe a Chinese origin to the term through Cantonese *tái-fung*, a gale, *lit.*, *tái*, great, and *fung*, wind. *Vide Encyclopædia Sinica*, 1917, *s.v.* Typhoon. It is possible that the form and sound " typhoon " for *tūfān* arose out of *tái-fung*.

[3] See vol. II. pp. 246, 248, for previous references to moorstone, a kind of granite peculiar to Cornwall.

[4] Mundy has not previously mentioned these guard boats. He alludes to them later on in his entry for the 30th June.

No. 27. Macao.

No. 28. A Chinaman eating with Chopstickes.

A Fleete appointed For Japan.

Within were 6 vessells bound For Japan and expected the Caphila [*kāfila*, caravan] off goodes From Cantan, the Cheife Citty of this province called allsoe by the same Name, some 30 leagues uppe, to which they goe by water in a greatt River thatt passeth by the Citty.

A Caphila Deteyned and why.

The said Caphila is said to bee Embargued or Deteyned For a great Summe of Mony which the Chinois Demaund of the Portugall For building a vessell bigger then they had leave or warrantt For. On Divers other occasiones they Devise waies and Meanes to extort Monies From them, as For killing, wronguing or abusing a Chinaman[1], there beeing a greatt Many that live together in the towne with them and nere aboutt them, having a Mandareene[2] or Judge of their owne to Decide their Differences[3].

Copy of the reply to the King of England's letter, 8th July 1637 [N.S.=28th June O.S.].

(*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Book 41, fol. 201).

I received your Majesty's letter dated the 20th February 1635 [1636], and with it such favour and

[1] The Portuguese at Macao at this period were always in conflict with the Chinese authorities in Canton, who from time to time levied on them such arbitrary taxes and restrictions as they were able to enforce. These necessarily and constantly varied. The measurement of ships and the building of houses were amongst the points in dispute, an unsatisfactory state of affairs which continued till 1699 (Kang-he 37th year) when the dues on ships were regularised by Imperial Edict. See Ljungstedt, *Portuguese Settlements in China*, pp. 79—80, 87.

[2] Mandarin, a Counsellor, Minister of State, Government official; Skr. *mantri*, Hindi *mantrī*, Port. *mandarim*, transferred from India to China by Europeans. It is not a Far Eastern word.

[3] A Mandarin resided among the Chinese at Macao and decided questions between Christians and Chinese. In 1587 Philip I. of Portugal instructed the Portuguese magistrate not to interfere with the jurisdiction of the Mandarin at Macao. See Ljungstedt, p. 79.

honour as your greatness confers on all. I understand by it that your Majesty accepts the treaties concluded in Goa, and as to the prosperous and speedy voyages of the ships of your kingdom, your Majesty should have been advised thereof before the King, my Lord. The delay has been caused by the lateness of the ships from Portugal which have been driven in [out of their course]. For the same reason I am still without news from the Viceroy of India as to whether the said treaty has been received in Spain. But seeing the weighty obligation which lies upon a vassal to perform the orders of his superiors, I will employ in your Majesty's services such measures as lie within my jurisdiction, both in assisting your Majesty's fleet, and preserving fresh spirit to execute with greater punctuality such new orders as I may in future receive.

God keep your Majesty for long and happy years.

Macau, 8th July 1637.

Agrees with the original,

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

Copy of a letter addressed to the Commander of the English Fleet, 8th July 1637 [N.S.=28th June O.S.]

(*Lisbon Transcripts, op. cit., loc. cit.*).

I have considered all that your Worship tells me in your letter, and there are reasons enough why I should use every possible means to serve your Worship as you deserve, and would that my power to serve you were equal to my desire to do so; but besides my limited power, the orders from my superiors are lacking, both those of my Lord the King and of the Lord Viceroy of India. And as such as I have received do not treat of your Worship's coming, nor of any matter relating to you, I have no excuse for acting upon my own desire, the more so as your Worship has been in Goa for three months, where this matter might have been settled, enabling us to serve your Worship with good will. For

when the ship *London* came to this port[1], it carried a Portuguese factor and brought definite orders from his Excellency the Count de Linhares[2], to take from hence artillery and other cargoes for private persons; and although this was done with all the requisite orders and license, it caused great damage to this city and to its preservation with respect to the Chinese, who are so jealous of other nations having the right to come to these parts, and who on this account occasioned great losses to the inhabitants of this land, for this city greatly depends on them, being situated in their country. But if the fleet is in urgent need of anything in the town which lies within my power to supply, I am ready to furnish it.[3]

God keep your Worship.

DOMINGOS DA CAMARA.

Macau, 8th July 1637.

Agrees with the original

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

The Procurador of Macao[4] visits Courteen's fleet.

(Extract from the *Continuation of the China Voyage, Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.).

28 *June* 1637. There repaired abourd the shipps the Procurador of the Citty, accompanied with some other

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[1] The first English venture to China was made in 1635 and was a consequence of the truce with the Portuguese concluded in January of that year (see *ante*, note on p. 160). The *London* sailed from Goa to Macao in April and returned in the following January. Henry Bornford, the merchant in charge of the cargo, wrote an account of the expedition (*O.C.* 1560) which is abstracted by Mr Foster in *English Factories*, 1634—1636, pp. 226—228.

[2] Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, who had left Goa before the arrival of Courteen's fleet. See *Relation* XXI., p. 46.

[3] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that the Governor in his answer stated that some of the Portuguese were "willinge to trade with us, and others were not willinge, but gave us faire promises that as soone as their fleet was gone to Japan, wee should have anie thing the Cittie aforded." Weddell seems to be confusing the written reply of the Captain-General with the personal visit and discourse of the Procurador on the 28th June, an account of which is given below.

[4] The Procurador was the chief Portuguese civil officer at Macao. Hamilton, who was there in 1703 says (II. 217), "The Forts [of Macao] are governed by a Captain-general, and the City by a Burgher called the Procuradore, but, in Reality, both are governed by a Chinese Mandereen, who resides about a League out of the City at a place called Casa Branca."

heads (as well as of his owne Tribe), as Hoggs and Oxen for a present. This Filho de Rua Nova [1] wanted not a tounge answerable to his head, and began to unfould a tedious lamentable discourse, as false as prolix, of their miserable subjection to the Chineses, which would be now (as he pretended) be much more by our 4 shipps arrivall, they haveinge had Experience by the shipp *Londons* only being there, which cost them a great fyne. Hee said wee knew not the good they intended us (and wee beleived it), but there were two mayne obstacles which hindred them from Expressinge it, *vizt.*, the non Consent of the Chineses (which was meerely falce)[2] and the slender quantitie of goods which they might Expecte this yeare from Canton for Japon, if any thing at all arrived, and this through our comeinge to their Porte (as true as the former). But the mayne Excuse was that wee brought no letters recommendatory from the old Vice Roy of Goa [el Conde de Linhares] which would have done us as much good as nothing. In conclusion, he told us that matter of refreshinge, if wee came neerer (which wee did), he would provide for us. And this he verry worshipfully and like a true Hebrew indeed performed, att 2 and 3 tymes the vallew on shore, and to the End that none might cheate us but

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[1] This expression may be said to bear two renderings, of which the first is the more probable :—(1) A low class (*rua*) convert (*nova, lit.* new Christian, in contradistinction to the Portuguese of pure blood who styled themselves old Christians). Weddell's merchants describe the Procurador as a Jew, probably in reference to his grasping demands, though he may perhaps have been the son of a Jewish convert. *Ruão*, subs., means a townsman and figuratively a man of the people. (2) An inhabitant of Rua Nova, the Cheapside of Lisbon in the 17th century. *Vide* the *Journal of Thos. Fisher*, 1661 (*Sloane MS.* 505 :— " 11 August. Wee went . . . to Rua Nova (the cheife street of the Citty and Exchange) . . . 28 August. Went ashoare and bought some sweet meats a[t] Rua Nuova, with a great deale of bastard China ware." I am indebted to Miss Leonora de Alberti for the first suggestion and to Mr Hubert Reade for the second.

For further details of the interview with the Portuguese officials, see the letter of 19th December 1637, *Courteen Papers*, Appendix D.

[2] Bornford, in recounting the result of the expedition of the *London* to Macao, also declared that the alleged aversion of the Chinese to trade with Europeans was exaggerated by the Portuguese. See *English Factories*, 1634—1636, p. 227.

No. 5

Macao and the Taipa Anchorage, 1637.

himselfe, there was a stricte watch of Boates placed about each shipp, not permittinge soe much as a poore Fisherman to supply us with the vallew of 6*d*; and soe it Continued duringe our abood in the roade.

A present of reffreshing.

The 29th of June [1637]. The Citty sentt our Admirall etts. a presentt of refreshing, *viz.*, 8 beeves, 8 Hogges, 8 Jarres sweet Meates, 8 bagges bread, with a proportion of Fruite.

Straunge plowing questioned.

The 30th [*June* 1637]. Wee wentt Farther in and rode over against the towne, butt Near a league Distantt, in a faire bay called Enseada de Don Juan[1]; and as wee came wee had a Foote, sometymes 2, lesse water then our shippe Drew, as wee Found by the lead as allsoe by the foule thick Muddy water which shee made in her wake, soe that shee plowed outt 3 or 4 Mile of her way with her Keele, and yett no hurt or Daunger, by reason of the thicknesse and softnesse of the oaze[2]. For shippes here

[1] There seems no doubt that Mundy's "Enseada [Bay] de Don Juan" is the modern Taipa Anchorage, which appears as Tempo Cebererro (1683), Tipa Quibrado (1707), Tibo Caberata (1718), Quabrada Bay (1727), Cabritta Bay (1728), Tupa Queberado (1731). See Logs of the *Carolina, Kent, Townshend, Prince Augustus, Sunderland* and *Macclesfield* (*Marine Records*, vols. LXXVIII., 317A, 660A, 665B, 675C and 669C). In Mundy's day, however, and for half a century later, the islands at the entrance of the bay were known as Don John or St Juan. In the Log of the *Hinde*, off Macao, under date 12th August 1644 (*Marine Records*, vol. LXVI.) there is an entry, "Wee went beetweene the Ilands of Don John . . . in to the bay," and in the Log of the *Compton*, under date 20th June 1732, also off Macao (*Marine Records*, vol. 666C), we find, "Saw an Island . . . which I take to be the Little Island as lyes in the Bay of the Island of St Juan . . . the Island of St Juan NW and the Small Island as we first saw NNW½W."

[2] The *Oley* had a similar experience on the 26th February 1707 (*Marine Records*, vol. 704A): "At one P.M. weighed [from Macao] . . . and went out of the western passage . . . depth of water 2 fa. and 1 foot mudey ground, our Ship rising the Mudd after her all the way."

need not to fear comming on ground, which made us the bolder.

A hidden Daunger escaped.

Butt wee ran a greater hazard in trending aboutt the point att the Comming in of the Bay, where lay a suncken rocke Just in our way (which is Dry att low water)[1], thatt it was 1000 to one some of our shippes had not struck on it and spoyled themselves. Some were very nere it; some went on the one side, some on the other. Butt God bee thancked, wee escaped, Itt beeing steepe to. Wee all Anchored in the said bay.

The Portugalls unwilling of our Company.

From the tyme of our comming hither wee had boates appointed by the Citty to forbidd all others comming Near us[2], as allsoe to see whatt came to and From us, they beeing unwilling of our company as wee might allready perceave by som passages.

Abstracte of the month of June aforegoing Anno 1637.

1. Wee wentt through the old straight [of Singapore].
3. Wee passed by Priedra [*sic*] Branca. From Sincapoor hither aboutt 20 leagues.
6. Anchored in Pulo Tymaon. From Piedra branca hither 130 miles.
17. Spake with a Dutch vessell.
18. Wee past by la Varella[3].

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[1] Pêdra Arèca rock, visible at low water, four cables S.E. from the south point of Macao. It is mentioned in the Log of the *Hinde* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXVI.): "Neere the Ilands of Don John there is, as you goe in to the bay, a roke which is dry at low water and lyes ⅓ of way from the point of the Iland which you leve the Starbord side goeing in."

[2] See *ante*, p. 164.

[3] See *ante*, pp. 146, 148, 151, 155, for notes on the places named in the "Abstracte."

27. Anchored by Macao.
30. Wee came nearer and Anchored.

The shippe hath run this Month of June the some of Miles 1419

A Mandareene com aboard.

1*st July Anno* 1637. There came A China Mandareene aboard with other Chineses and, as they said, to know our intentts and Demaunds thatt accordingly they Mightt Certifie their Master who is a greatt Mandareene att Cantan. Hee was apparelled in a gowne or coate of blacke Sarsanette or tiffany, and under thatt other garmentts with strange attire on his head[1]. Hee had carried before him a broad board written with China Characters, itt seemes the badge of his Authority and Commission[2]. The rest were as strangely accoutred.

A Sword Fish: White porpoises.

The 11*th currantt* [*July* 1637]. There was broughtt aboard a smalle sword Fish[3]: And the Porpoises here are as white as Milke, some of them Ruddy withall[4].

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[1] Sarsenet, sarcenet, "Saracen cloth," a fine soft silk. Tiffany, "Epiphany silk," a thin transparent silk. In *Letters from Jesuits, received in* 1555, translated and quoted in Mr Major's Introduction to Mendoza, ed. Staunton, p. L, there are the following allusions to the robes and caps of Chinese civil officers: "The people of any consequence wear black silk for their dress, because coloured is held dishonourable for clothing. . . . The officers wear a kind of cap different from other people. . . . In these caps they have tufts made of horsehair, stuck on every part."

[2] See Montanus, p. 418, for "Hanging Boards, on which the Authority and Quality of the Mandarin is written." The "broad board" was no doubt one of the *p'ai* or inscribed boards used by the Chinese for many purposes, probably in this case the *Kuan-hsien-p'ai* (Cantonese, *Kun-hau-p'ai*), official rank board. [Information from Mr L. C. Hopkins.]

[3] The *Histiophorus* sp., common in the Indian and Pacific oceans.

[4] The great white porpoise of the estuary of the Canton River (*Delphinus Chinensis*) which Williams (*Middle Kingdom*, I. 329) says is called by the Chinese *peh-kí*; Cantonese, *pàk-kí*, white-fin.

Osbeck also noticed these dolphins in 1751 (*Voyage to China*, II. 27): "Snow-white Dolphins . . . tumbled about the ship; but at a distance they seemed in nothing different from the common species, except in the white colour."

The lanteea[1] or Caphila arrived From Cantan : Bad signes of trade with the Portugalls.

The 12[*th July* 1637] came the lanteea or Caphila from Cantan, beeing 5 long large lighterlike vessells, laden with goods from thatt Citty where the Portugalls make yearly investmentts For the lading off their Japan Fleete, these now come beeing for the furnishing of the 6 shippes aforementioned, who are to Depart within these few Daies, untill when (if then) wee are not like to have any trade in this place : For since our anchoring here No men of quallity came aboard, the aforesaid Mandareene excepted, who came twice, allsoe a yong cavallero, and our Dayly and Nighttly watcheboattes who with licence bring us our provision From the Citty, and perhappes a fisherman. Many Portugall boates that goe on pleasure passe by us or row round aboutt us, butt come Not aboard, beeing Forbidden as they say. China stuffes, not any to bee broughtt us on paine off excommunication.

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[1] Mundy is confusing the "lanteas" or cargo-boats which carried the *kāfila* or caravan with the caravan itself. "Lantea, lantia," is one form, current among the old European travellers in the 16th and 17th centuries, for a river and estuary boat. It is difficult to say to which language it properly belongs : *vide* the following quotations from Dictionaries :

WILKINSON—Malay.

Lancha (Port. *lancha*), a light sloop.
Lancharan, a swift ship of war, a sort of native cruiser.
Lanchang, a Malay war vessel.

CRAWFURD—Malay.

Lanchang, a kind of boat, a barge, a lighter.

LACERDA—Portuguese.

Lancha, the pinnace or boat of a ship [Eng. launch].
Lanchada, a load with which a pinnace is burdened.
Lanchão, augm. of *lanchea*, a great ship.
Lanchara, a sort of Indian ship so called.
Lantea or *lantia* (an Asiatic word), a sort of vessel or ship.

Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Lanteas, says he cannot give a derivation, and quotes Pinto, 1540, for "lanteeas," and Caspar da Cruz (in Purchas), 1560, for "lanteas." Mendoza, 1588, Hak. Soc., ed. Staunton, I. 149, describes the "lantea" as a large oared barge or cargo-boat, which is evidently what Mundy means by his "lanteea." Warrington Smyth, *Mast and Sail*, p. 355, describes the modern *lancha* or *lanchang* of the Malay States as a sailing cargo-boat.

In these 2 passed Daies Wee carreened all our shippes, to make them Cleane, as allsoe to kill the Worme thatt consumes them in these seas[1].

The Pinnace *Anne* sentt to Discover better hopes among the Chinois.

This evening late, the Pinnace *Anne* Departed towards the River of Cantan to seeke For speech and trade with the Chineses, beeing Debarred here by the Portugalls. In her wentt Captaine Carter, Mr Thomas Robbinson, Mr John Mountney and a selected Crew[2].

Reasons of the Portugalls not admitting us trade.

It is rumoured thatt when the Japan Fleete is gon wee shall have pratticke[3], thatt voyage beeing the Mayne upholding of this place. Soe they considering thatt if wee had Free trading here would allsoe trafficke For Japan, and thatt theirby theirs would Decay and soe consequently proove their utter undooing makes them soe unwilling to Deale with us, or thatt wee should have any Commerce att all with others in these parts. In soe much thatt wee are nott suffred to com on shoare Nor any from thence to us, excepting the Watcheboates aforesaid.

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[1] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) notes: "Here it was necessary (as the place would give leave) to survaye the shipps and repayre their defectes betwixt wind and water, which was done with all diligence." The "worme" is the *teredo* or "Ship-worm."

[2] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* we learn that the "selected Crew" numbered 50, that the *Anne* was accompanied by the *Dragon's* barge and skiff and that her mission was to "discover the river of Canton" as well as to report on the prospects of trade with the Chinese. An account of the cruise is given after Mundy's diary of 22nd July.

[3] Pratique (It. *pratica*). In the 17th century this term was used for licence to trade as well as for permission for a ship to hold intercourse with a port after quarantine.

A Mandareene From Cantan[1] with others com aboard.

The 15th [July 1637], came 3 Mandareenes or China officers From the towne to accompany another which came From Cantan, as hee said sent of purpose to bee satisfied of the truth of whatt the others writte, and having taken the number of our Men [and] Ordnance with an estimate of our Monies etts. Cargazone[2], they Departed. They came in a bigge vessell with a kettle Drumme and a broad brasse pan, on both which the[y] beatt, keeping tyme together. They had allsoe on their vessell certaine Flagges and streamers.

To Day came a vessell from Maccassar[3] beelonguing to the Portugalls and entred the towne.

Three Men buried whereof one unfortunately Drowned.

The 17th [July 1637]. Our Caulker was buried, and the 18th came a Deadman Floating by the shippe side. Hee beelongued to the *Sunne*, who the 16th currant unfortunately fell overboard and was Drowned. By report hee was one of their properest Men. They sent their boate, carried him ashoare and buried him, and this afternoone they buried another Man outt of the said shippe. These 3 aforementioned have Died in our Fleete since our Coming hither.

Ill Newes.

The 22th [July 1637]. In the Morning came a Messenger expresse From the Generall of Macao to

[1] Mundy consistently adheres to this spelling of Canton, and it is also adopted by Weddell in his account of the expedition (*O.C.* 1662).

[2] Sp. *cargazon*, cargo.

[3] The island of Celebes was discovered by the Portuguese *c.* 1512, and both Portuguese and Dutch had establishments at Macassar, on the S.W. of the island, in Mundy's time, but Portuguese influence was then already on the wane.

certifie us thatt certaine Chineses of quallity had sent him word how thatt the Pinnace *Anne* was surprized, the men in Irons, the goods landed, the vessell haled on shoare, and thatt the towne was allsoe full of the same rumour, for the which hee said hee was very sorry.

The *Anne* retourned with encouragement of trade with the Chinois.

Butt all prooved falce, For thatt evening shee retourned, finding, as they said, good encouragementt of trade from the Chineses. There came to them sundry officers, and Many of the Kings Men of Warre [junks] came aboutt them, and they were told by the Chinois how the Portugalls should report us to bee pirattes and thatt wee came only to robbe and spoile, bringuing Neither Mony nor goodes.

Account of the cruise of the Pinnace *Anne* in the Canton River (*Continuation of the China Voyage, Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.).

12 *July* 1637. The Pinnace *Ann* . . . sett sayle [from Taipa Anchorage] . . . and after 2 dayes came in sight of the mouth of the ryver[1], beinge a verry goodly inlett and utterly prohibited to the Portugalls by the Chinessees[2], who doe not willingly admitt any strangers to the veiw of it, being the passage and secure harbour for their best Jounckes both of warr and merchandize. So that the

[1] The entrance to the Chu Kiang (Pearl) or Canton River is at the well-known Boca Tigris (Tiger's Mouth) between Chuen-pi and Tai-kok-tau Islands, and apparently the *Anne* anchored at the present anchorage off Chuen-pi point.

[2] The Portuguese having disregarded the injunctions of the Chinese authorities to confine their trading operations to Macao, the port of Canton was closed against their shipping in 1631. For a few years their commerce was in the hands of an association of Chinese merchants who supplied them with goods and received their imports at Macao. This arrangement did not work well, and in 1637 a deputation of Portuguese went up to Canton and ineffectually attempted to obtain permission to resume direct trade with that city. See Ljungstedt, *Portuguese Settlements in China*, p. 83.

Portugalls traffique to Canton is only in small vessells through divers narrow shoald streightes, amongst many broken Ilands adjoyninge to the mayne. To whom it was noe small wonder that without any pilott or any the least helpe of an Interpreter, our people should penetrate so Farr. And indeed it hath caused divers of the best understandinge amongst them to make publique confession of their owne Errour in refuseinge to affourd us reasonable libertie of trade att our first comeinge to Maccaw, wherby wee were enforced to this attempt, which they prognostically [prognosticate] (and wee hope truly) will in a few yeares be the ruine of their vain glorious pride and ostentation. For herby the honest dealinge off our Nation, contrary to their slanderous reports, is apparantly manifested and made known, as well to the principall Governours of that Province as to the particular Merchants and all sorts off people.

[14] *July* 1637. Anchoringe here for a winde and Tide to Carey them in, a Jouncke off those that accustome to fish therabouts was descried early in the morninge, [to] whome Thomas Robinson in the Barge gave a tedious chase (by reason of her many oares), hopeinge to have founde some abourd that might have stood them either off a pilott or interpreter. But findinge neither, haveinge used them with all Curtesie and frendly [friendliness], dismissed them (contrary to their tymerous expectation), he returned abourd, and the same night, for the same Causes and the same success, spake with another.

15 *July* 1637. This morninge beinge still att anchor, a small boate made towards them. Not being able by reason of the tyde to fetch them upp, the Barge was sent to give them a towe, who being come abourd, and haveinge sould such small refreshingh as they had brought, one of them by signes made signes to Carry them to Canton and to bring them to speech of the Mandarines, which they accepted of[1], And that night Anchored in the river

[1] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that the "fisherman agreed to show them the way in to the river of Cantan for 5 Rs. [reals of] 8."

neere unto a Harbour called Lampton[1], which is a station for their prime men of warr of the Kings Armada, as Chattam is in England for his Majesties Shipps.

16 *July* 1637. Beinge Sunday, very Early, John Mounteney and Thomas Robinson went ashoare in a fayre sandye Baye, nigh unto Certaine Villages, carriinge a whitt Flagge in the Barges head, where they had not long stayd, but by messengers of the Captain of the Kings Joncks, they were invited on land, and soe Conducted one certaine Craggie hills for the space of a League, unto the goodly harbour of Lamp[ton][2] and soe abourd the Jonckes, where after many dumb shewes of Curtesie (the one party not understanding the other), ours tooke leave and came abourd the *Anne* in one of their Boates, accompanied with divers of their petty Manderin[s] and soe that afternoone sett sayle, and passed by a certayne desolate Castle[3], anchoringe in the Eveninge some 3 leagues upp further in the river[4].

18 *July* 1637. Beinge under sayle with a fayre wynde and tyde, a Flett of about 20 sayles of tall Jounckes, comaunded by Champins[5] (the Admirall

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[1] By "Lampton" harbour seems to be meant what is now known as Anson's Bay, between the point of Chuen-pi and Anung-hoi. "Lampton" as a name is not on the Charts, and the writers of the *Continuation of the China Voyage* seem to have meant thereby the Wantong Islands and fort in the middle of the river on the western side. Mr M. C. Jame informs me that the name Wantong, as pronounced in some of the many dialects spoken about Canton, might easily have been mistaken by the members of Courteen's Expedition for Lampton, or even for Lantao, as they call it later on.

[2] The landing seems to have been made on a small sandy beach that exists on Chuen-pi Point and the walk was over the hills by the Old Fort and Watch Tower of Chuen-pi into Anson's Bay.

[3] The old fort on Anung-hoi Point.

[4] Three leagues up the river would take the *Anne* beyond Tai-fu or Tiger Island to a point between Ji-fu and the Saw-shi shoal, where she could anchor in 8 to 9 fathoms.

[5] *Tsung-ping* (Cantonese, *Chung-ping*), now a Brigadier-General. See Ljungstedt, *Portuguese Settlements in China*, p. 85, where the term is defined as Sea-Prefect, Lieutenant-General. Weddell (*O.C.* 1662) calls this officer "Champeyn" and says he was "Generall of the Province by sea," and Mundy in *Relation* xxv. calls him the "Cheeompee" and "Chompee." The following contemporary allusions to this official are interesting. News of the arrival of the Portuguese in the

of the Seas) Deputie, passinge downe from Canton, incountred our people, and in Curteous tearmes desired them to anchor, which accordingly they did. And presently John Mounteney and Thomas Robinson went abourd the Admirall, the Cheife Manderine, where were certaine Negroes, fugitives of the Portugalls, that interpreted between them. Att first the Chinesse began somewhat roughly to Expostulate what mooved the English to Come thether and discover the prohibited and concealed parts and passages of so great Princes Dominions, Also who were Pilotts. Thomas Robinson replyed that they were come from a potent Prince of Europe, who beinge in amitye with all his neighbours, desired likewise the friendshipp of the greate King of China, and to that end had his order to treate of such Capitulations as might conduce to the good of both Princes and subjects, hopeinge that it might be lawfull for them as the Inhabitants of Maccaw to Exercise a free Commerce there, payinge duties as the others. And as for Pilotts, they had none, but every one was able by his Arte to discover more difficulte passages then they had found that[1]. Hereupon he began to be more affiable, and in conclusion appoynted a small Jouncke to carrye upp Captain Carter, John Mounteney and Thomas

Canton River in 1517 was sent to the "chumpin," and Christovão Vieyra in 1534 speaks of "the compin" as one of the "three persons who have charge of this province of Cantão" (Ferguson, *Portuguese Captives in Canton*, pp. 10, 135). In 1655, Neuhoff remarks (p. 126): "The Chancellour came to our Embassadours, and asked them what quality or dignity they had; they answered him, that they had the name of Thiomping, for with this Title they were at first qualified by the Canton Vice-Roys." Father Magaillans (*History of China*, ed. 1688, pp. 241—242, says: "There is a third considerable Officer call'd Tsum pim, who commands all the Forces of the Province, and is of the first Order of Mandarins." Hamilton in 1703 (*A new account of the East Indies*, II. 228, 242) alludes to "A Mandarin called the Chumpin . . . who superintends the Affairs of the Sea and Rivers." In the Log of the *Rochester*, under date 17th October 1710 (*Marine Records*, 137c), there is the note: "This morning hoysted all our Colours being the Champins birth day."

[1] This was a piece of bravado on the part of the merchants, who, as previously stated, had bribed a fisherman to pilot them up the river. Weddell admits (*O.C.* 1662) that the Chinese officials "at laste gott sight of the China fisherman whome I beleeve they have putt to death for it, although wee gave them 15 Rs. 8 [reals of 8] to lett him goe."

Robinson (or whom they pleased) to the towne, if they would promise that the Pinnace should proceed noe further. For such is their Cowardize, that though each of these vessells was as well furnished with ordnance as the *Annes*, and treble mannd, yet durst they not all to oppose hir in any hostile way[1]. The same night Captain Carter, Thomas Robinson, and John Mounteney left the Pinnace with order to Expect their returne, and being imbarqued in a small Jouncke of 30 Tonnes, proceeded towards Canton, with intent to deliver a petition to the Vice Roy for obtayninge of Lycence to settle a trade in those parts.

[19 *July* 1637.] The next daye they arryved within 5 leaugues of Canton[2], whether it seemes the rumour of their comeinge and fear of them was allready arrived, soe that from a message from Hitow[3], Champen, &c., they were required in frendly manner to proceed noe further, but to repayre abourd, with promise of all assistance in the procureinge of licence from Quan Moan[4], the subordinate

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[1] The reluctance of the Chinese to oppose the passage of the *Anne* by forcible measures was probably owing to defective ammunition.

[2] The place within 5 leagues of Canton must have been obviously the Chop [Hind. *chhāp*, license] Houses on either side of the river at the First Bar, where strangers would be stopped to settle licenses to trade.

[3] *Hai-tao* (Cantonese *Hoi-tau*) a high maritime official. Weddell (*O.C.* 1662) calls this officer "Hoyto" and says he was "Cheefe Justice for the Cittie of Cantan." Vieyra, 1534 (*Portuguese Captives in Canton*, p. 137), mentions "the aytao who has charge of the sea and foreigners." Mendoza, 1588 (ed. Staunton, I. 102), places the "Aytao" sixth in rank of the Chinese officers of a province and defines his duties as "generall purvier and president of the counsell of warre, whose office is to provide souldiers . . . and to provide ships, munitions, and victuals for any fleete that shall pass by sea . . . to examine such strangers that do come to any province . . . and . . . to give the viceroy to understand thereof." Faria y Sousa, 1666, mentions (Stevens' translation, 1694, I. 254) "The Itao or Admiral of that Sea." Du Halde (II. 27—28) calls the superintendent of the rivers "Ho tao" and the inspector of seaports "Hai tao," and Neuhoff (pp. 21, 24) designates the "Mandarin" who was "Admiral of the Sea." "Haitonu" and "Heytenu."

[4] *K'wan Man* (Cantonese *K'wan Mun*) appears to mean in this case Administrator of the Gate, *i.e.*, the chief custom-house officer, at the two "Chop Houses" at the First Bar (see note 2). This official, however, was looked upon by the old travellers as the Viceroy himself, *vide* the following quotations. "The Vizroy, that is in every province principall and supreme magistrate in place of the king, they do call him Comon" (Mendoza, ed. Staunton, I. 101). "The Viceroy of the

Vice Roy for Trade, if they would seeke it att Maccaw by the solicitation of some they shoud find there and would instantly abandon the river. The which they (haveinge satisfied themselves with this discovery, and willinge to remove the anxietie which their longe absence might breed in the rest of the Fleet) readily performed, for the Portugalls had allready told that the *Ann* and all hir people were surprised, and were vouchinge that even when she appeared in sight[1].

[22 *July* 1637]. And soe, settinge sayle with the first oppertunitie they arryved att Maccaw, to the great Contente and incouragment of all their frends well affected to the designe.

The Japan Fleete sett saile.

The 23d of July [1637]. Att nightt Departed the Japan Fleete to sea on their voyage, And now expected wee open admittance of trade, as wee were encouraged by common report and private lettres from some particulers only, Butt From the Generall of the Citty Nott a word sin[c]e the last lettre, which was a mannerly Deniall of trade under excuse thatt For want of order From the superiours, *viz.*, the King of Spaine and Vizroy of India, hee could not Doe us thatt good office which otherwise hee willingly would[2].

Province, whom they call Tut Ham [*Tu-t'ung*] or Kiun Muen. He hath power of all the Magistrates and people of the Province" (Semedo, *History of China*, p. 128). "The President bears the Titles of . . . Kiun Muen . . . with several other names, which all signifie no more than Governour of a Province or Viceroy with us" (Father Magaillans, *History of China*, p. 241). Hamilton, however (*East Indies*, II. 220) calls the Viceroy of Canton the "Chontock [*Tsung-tuk*]."

[1] "The same day that our pinace returned to us, The Generall of Mocao sent mee word that our pinnace was taken by the Kinges men of warr and all the men putt in prison. Butt when he sawe her Cominge in, he sent to excuse himselfe, sayinge the Chineses had misinformed him &ca." (*O.C.* 1662).

[2] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) says that the "Portugalls Fleet for Japan consisted of "6 small Vessells" and that the Portuguese being "freed of their conceived feare least wee should have surprized them, they justly flouted the simple credulitie (the inseparable badge of folly) of our Nation. And at last, haveinge assembled a Councell of purpose, sent us a Flatt denyall [of license to trade]."

Advice to beeware.

The 26th [*July* 1637] came a lettre From the Procurador of Maccao advising us to looke to our selves; thatt hee was told The Chinois had an intent to fire us if t[h]ey could.

The Portugalls open their intents More playnely.

The 27th [*July* 1637] came certaine Merchantts From the Generall, who understanding thatt wee were Discon[ten]ted, Desired to know whither hee had given us any cause or noe, and whither thatt hee had nott long since given us our answear. That the Chinois would not permitt any other Nation to trafficke with them, Noe thatt [*sic*] the Spaniards themselves, allthough the same Kings subjectts, Soe that some 5 or 6 yeares since, as they relate, A Spanish shippe comming from Mannilla was not suffred to enter butt keptt outt with their Ordnance, not suffred to trade; butt thatt whatt they wantt att Mannilla the Portugalls in their owne vessells may carry thither. Of this affront the Spaniards complayned to the King, butt these gave soe good reasons For whatt they had don thatt hee allowed and confirmed their privileges[1]. Moreover, the said Merchantts alleadged there were No goodes For our lading or turne, wondring of our comming hither, shewing great Discontent therat And unwillingnesse of our longer abiding here. Butt I conceave they kept the Maine cause of all to themselves, which was thatt our Comming in Would quickly eat them outt of all trade.

The 29th July [1637], 4 Englishmen and 1 Frenchman, which some few Daies since Ran away From the Fleete

[1] This statement, as Mr Bromley Eames points out (*English in China*, p. 15) was incorrect, since the Spaniards had obtained permission, in 1598, to trade from Manila to a port in the neighbourhood of Macao. According to Faria y Sousa, III. 106, it was the Portuguese, and not the Chinese, who opposed the Spanish trading venture.

to the Portugall, were by the generall of Macao returned us backe againe, Whither outt of his owne inclination or fear that we would deteyne Friers or other people of his wee know not[1], For wee had allready seized on 2 of the watche which were released att the comming of our Men.

Determination to depart Macao.

In Conclusion, finding butt bad hopes From the Portugall of any good to bee Don in Matter of Trade, and encouragement to have itt From the Chinois by the *Annes* relation, Wee Determined to leave the place and Portugalls and to try whatt wee could Doe with the latter[2].

End of the 24th Relation.

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[1] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) says that the "runnawaies" were "found by them to be good for nothinge (as commonly such people are)" and therefore "we obtayned this curtesie to have them delivered, although since they have inveighled and concealed better able men whome wee could never recover."

[2] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) says that this decision was arrived at in Consultation on the 24th July, when "Captain Carter, John Mounteney and Thomas Robinson delivered to the whole Councell (togeather with a Draught of the river) the some of their attempts, success and hopes, which beinge well pondered, and the notorious treacheries of the perfidious Portugalls now plainly appearinge (who aymed att nothinge more then our utter ruyne), it was gennerally consented unto that the whole fleete should, with all convenient speed departe for Lampton. And the rather because wee found, by tryall made upon divers Swyne in the Shipp *Sunn*, that the provision of Rice which they furnished us with from the towne was soe unwholsome that few men would eate of it, and that all boates and people were debarred comeinge abourd . . . and we could not long subsist without supplies of those kinds, but Especially of the hopes wee conceived of the investinge our Capitall in some convenient manner and tyme, of which in any other place wee were quite destitute."

RELATION XXV.

OUR DEPARTURE FROM MACAO AND ARRIVALL ATT FUMAHONE, TAIFOO, ETTS., PLACES AT THE MOUTH OF CANTAN RIVER, WITH OUR DAUNGER AND TROUBLES THERE UNDERGON, ETTS. OCCURRENCES, *VIZ*[1].

Our Departure from our old rode.

The 29th July 1637[2]. The Day abovesaid wee came forth of our old rode[3], having remayned there Nere one Month. The *Sunne* came aground and soe stayed till Next tide. The Friers, Churchmen, etts., sent us from towne [Macao] very good ripe grapes and ripe Figges such as wee have in Europe. Here were allsoe very [real] peares[4]. Now att our going away came some Portugalls aboard to buy wine, etts., and sold some muske at 45 Ryalls of eightt the Cattee, which is Near 20 oz. English[5].

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[1] The full headline to this *Relation* in the MS. is: "China voiage outtward bound From Macao to Tayfoo att the River of Cantan in China."

[2] In the MS. Mundy has written, "August the 29th 1637, I say = July."

[3] Taipa Anchorage.

[4] The Chinese pear, *Pyrus sinensis* (*li*).

[5] The Portuguese were evidently taking advantage of the English. The price of musk quoted in "Notes of goods vendible and purchasable in Macao" *c.* 1660 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 24, p. 96*a*) is "30 & 35 ryalls 8/8 per cattee." See *Relation* XXIII., p. 137, where Mundy gives the *katī* of Achin as 30⅝ oz. or nearly 2 lbs.

A Fleete of great China Juncks.

The 30th [July 1637]. Wee removed and rode over against the east side of Macao, there being a fleete of 10 saile of China Junckes (greatt vessells) hovering aboutt us and many More an [at] Anchor under the land. Their intents wee knew nott. However, wee provided For them by reason of the advice wee had, as of the rumour thatt they should goe aboutt to fire us; other hurt from them wee feared nott, were they 10 tymes as many.

The Chinois Desire us to anchor and to goe noe farther: we proceed onwards.

August 1637. The First of this Month wee came some 2 or 3 leagues Farther[1], when there came unto us certaine vessells, unto whom wee sent the [Dragon's] barge and brought From them an officer with an interpreter, who desired us to anchor there aboutts and to proceed no farther untill order should com from Cantan, whither they would send present [immediate] advice of our Comming and Desire. Howsoever, thatt nightt wee wayed and came farther Northward into the Bay towards the Mouth of the River of Cantan[2]. These 2 Daies wee saw a greatt number off fisher boates etts. vessells, soe thatt it May bee verified here whatt is reported of some parts of China, thatt there are more people on the water then on the land[3], For whatt wee have yett seene are Ilands, high, broken, stony, sandy, uneven

[1] Three leagues up the river would take the fleet to a point off the Nine Islands.

[2] This would take the fleet to Chuen-pi Point.

[3] "Ce qu'il y a de particulier, c'est qu'auprès des grandes Villes, surtout dans les Provinces meridionales, on voit des especes de Villes flotantes; c'est une multitude prodigieuse de barques rangées des deux côtez de la riviere, où logent une infinité de familles qui n'ont point d'autres maisons. Ainsi l'eau est presque aussi peuplée que la terre ferme." Du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine*, ed. 1735, II. 8. See also Mendoza, ed. Staunton, I. 150. This is still the first thing to be remarked on approaching Canton.

land, and uninhabited, nott 1 acre in 1000 made use off; butt these are butt the outt Iles of Cantan lying about the Rivers Mouth.

[*1st August* 1637]. To Day one of our foremast Men Fell off of our foreyard (which was then acrosse) on the Forecastle, Flatt on his belly. It deprived him of his sences awhile, butt hee recovered againe.

Another fleete of Junckes, by whome wee are againe Desired to go no Farther.

[*4th August* 1637]. From the First currantt to this Day, the 4th, wee gotte butt little [farther] by reason of straunge currannttes and little wyndes. There came to us heare another Fleete of greatt China Juncks, The kings Men of Warre, aboutt 40 saile, straunge vessells and as straungely Fitted, as in Folio 139, letter A[1]. These Desired us to Anchor, which wee did, and kept especiall good watche thatt Nightt, not knowing as yett how to trust them.

The 6th [*August* 1637]. Came a Messenger with an enterpreter From the Mandareene of the Fleete, Desiring us to proceed no Farther towards Cantan, butt to turne aside into a place called Lantau[2] hard by us, where wee should have provisiones, and thatt they would allsoe endeavour wee should have admittance of trade, and thatt they had suncke certaine vessells in our waye, soe they said. Wee answeared thatt wee wished them no hurt, but Desired their Freindshippe and goodwill to have Merchandize For our Mony and then wee would Depart, and thatt wee only would goe a little farther uppe towards the Rivers Mouth to serve our shippes, and thatt there wee would stay their answear, beeing they had said they had written aboutt us

[1] See Illustration No. 29.

[2] That is, they were told to go to Lantao (Wantong Forts) where the *Anne* had previously anchored. See *ante*, note [1] on p. 177.

Further particulars of the interview with the Mandarins (*Continuation of the China Voyage, Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.).

6th August 1637. Arryved all before the forementioned desolate Castle [on Chuen-pi Point], and beinge nowe furnished with some slender Interpreters, wee soone had speech with dyvers Manderyns in the Kings Junckes, To whome wee discovered the cause of our comeinge, *vizt.*, to entertayne peace and amitie with them, to traffique freely, as the Portugalls did, and to be forthwith supplyd for our monies with provisions for our Shipps. All which they promised to sollicite with Haitau (the lord treasurer), Champin[1] (the Admirall of the forces both by sea and land), And the rest of the prime men then resident in Cantan. For att that tyme both Chadjan[2], the supervisor gennerall, and Toutan [*Tu-t'ung*] or Quan Mone [*K'wan-Mun*], the Vice roy[3], were both absent farr of; and in the meane tyme they desired our Expectation for 6 daies, which wee granted, and in the interim wee rode with our white Ensignes on the Poope.

Weddell's own account of the above incident (*O.C.* 1662).

Twoe dayes after our pinace [the *Anne*] Came to us, wee plyed it [worked] up to the mouth of the river of Cantan (before named), and in our way wee mett with 40 China men of warr whoe demaunded whether we were bound that way. We answered the messenger, that spake both Portingall and Chinese, that wee came to seeke a trade with those of Cantan. Hee told us wee must ancor there, and awaite the Answere of the Mandereenes at Cantan (which would be 8 dayes ere an answere Could be returned us). I told him I would seeke a place to secure our shippes if a Herycan or Taffoone should Come; soe wee plied it in, as wind and

[1] *Hai-tao, Tsung-ping.* See *ante*, notes on pp. 177, 179.

[2] Cantonese, *Cham-jan*, Assistant Military Governor.

[3] See note [4] on p. 179.

tyde would give us leave. They keeping us Companie Cried and weaved to us to Come to an ancor, but we made them noe answere but plied [went on with] our businesse, all our shippes beinge readie and fitted to receive them if they had afronted us. This Continewed 3 dayes till wee had gotten to the mouth of the second streight where they had a Castle [Anung-hoi], but when Captain Carter went in with the pinnace[1] there was neither ordinance nor soldiers upon it, and about a minion[2] shott from this Castle wee ancored through their much intreatie, upon promise that in 10 dayes they would procure us free trade with those in Canton, but if wee should offer to goe above the Castle it would give an alarum to the Countrie people which lived upon the Ilands round about us and would be ill taken by the Mandereen of Cantan; soe wee agreed to staye 10 dayes for an Answere from Cantan.

Anchored by Fumaon: Badd signes of obteyning trade with the Chineses allsoe.

The 8th of August 1637. Wee came to a convenient place and Anchored in 10 or 11 Fathom water by a towne called Fumaone[3]; reasonable good land on both sides, allthough Ilands and inletts; towne, villages and trees in sundry places; a greatt Fleete of Juncks riding, som ahead som asterne; a plattfforme on the starboard side going upp[4], which was supplied with Men and

[1] See *Relation* XXIV. p. 177.

[2] Minion, an obsolete term for a small kind of ordnance.

[3] This name must represent a village on Anung-hoi Point. I have found no trace of it either in Mundy's spelling or in any other form.

[4] Anung-hoi Fort. Compare the following allusions to the forts at the mouth of the Canton River. "When the Gap of the Tigar bears SbEt and the first Tower NNWt, you are Just clear and will have 7 fathoms Water at high Water . . . Anchored in 13 fathom, the Westmost Castle WNWt, the Eastmost NNWt being without the Boak [Boca Tigris]." Log of the *Seaford*, under date 6th January 1702 (*Marine Records*, vol. CXLIX.). "Anchored in 7 fathom, the Piramid [Pagoda Tower] NNW¼W, Boco Tigris SSW½W and Castle Island [Wantong Island] SbE½E. Anchored in 6 fathom, Linting SbE Easterly, Boco Tigris NW½N, Castle Island NW, the old Castle on the Eastern Shoar [Anung-hoi] NNW ½West." Log of the *Howland*

Ordnance, setting Flagges on the walles, making preparation For enemies while wee Ment them no harme[1]. However it comes to passe, whither through the Portugalls bribery, Or whither the Chinois observing an auntient Custom reported of them in not permitting straungers to traffick in their Country, I know nott, Butt they seeme allsoe very unwilling of our Company and much discontented att our comming uppe soe near to the Rivers Mouth of Cantan. For, except one smalle boate which sold us a greatt Fish called in Spanish Corvino[2] and the boate thatt came on Messages From the Mandareenes, Not one boate elce hath come Near us these 10 Daies, allthough wee saw Many hundreds.

The Chinois Fortifie against us, and wee make preparation For Deffence and offence.

The 9th August 1637. Wee sent ashoare to the [Anung-hoi] Fort, and receaving some bad answear to our peaceable Demaunds, Wee Fitted our selves as well for offence as Defence, Displaying our bloudy ensignes

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under date 23rd—24th February 1712 (*Marine Records*, vol. 696c). Compare also Osbeck's *Voyage to China and the East Indies*, in 1751, ed. 1771, I. 180, "Bocca Tyger . . . at its opening, is a narrow river . . . On the right hand side of the entrance was a low castle . . . somewhat further on the left were two castles on two different hills . . . the inner one is higher, so that it may command the other." See also *op. cit.* II. 40.

[1] The writers of the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) say that owing to "our perfidious frends, the Portugalls," who "had in all this tyme since the returne of the Pinnace *Ann* soe beslandered us unto them," the Chinese "became very jealous [suspicious] of our good meaninge, insomuch that in the night tyme they putt 46 peeces of Iron cast ordnance into this Forte lyinge close to the brincke of the river, each peece beinge betwene 6 and 700 weightt and well proportiond." Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that "in the interim," whilst awaiting directions from Canton, "they fell to worke about the Castle and planted by night 44 peeces of ordinance upon it, whilest wee went from towne to towne to buy provisions for our shippes amongst the Chineses, and lett them goe on with their fortifications in their Castle. The ordinance they tooke out of the Junkes and they being all mounted in the Castle, the Junkes went farther up into the river supposinge the Castle sufficient to keepe us from goeinge further into the river."

[2] *Corvina*, Sp. and Port., a conger-eel.

on our poopes, taking in the white, putting on our wastcloathes[1] and the Kings coullours on our Mayne toppes, taking Downe Saint George[2], which the Chinois perceaving, sent Immediately a Messenger From the said Fort Desiring us to have patience For 6 Daies More, For in thatt tyme they Doubted nott of answear From Cantan, intending that evening to write againe, and withall sent us a white Flagge with which they said wee mightt in peaceable Manner procure provisions From the townes and villages hereaboutts. With this wee were pacified For the tyme.

Wee went ashoare to their villages to buy provision.

The 10th August 1637. Wee went ashoare into an Inlett unto a village with our white Flagge, butt att the entraunce wee were Forbid to goe any Farther by one of the Kings small skulling Junckes deciphered in Folio 139, letter B[3]. Butt Forward went wee, the people wondring and Flocking aboutt us. Here wee bought some few hennes, egges, etts., our white Flagge serving to little purpose, our white silver beeing all in all.

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[1] Waistcloths, the precursors of the later boarding nettings, were canvas coverings for hammocks stowed in the gangways between the quarter-deck and the forecastle. It was customary during a fight to stretch these waistcloths along the low waist of a ship between the forecastle and the poop as a protection against boarding. In Mundy's day waistcloths were made of red kersey listed with canvas. See Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy*, p. 257.

[2] There are four flags mentioned in this passage. (1) The white flag showing that the intruders were peaceful traders, (2) St George's flag (white ensign) showing nationality, (3) the King's Colours (the Royal Arms of the day) which the fleet had special permission to fly (see *ante*, p. 19), and (4) the "bloudy ensign" or "bloody colours." It will be noticed that the two first were used while trading, and were taken down in favour of the two last while fighting or about to fight. The King's Colours were apparently hoisted to show that Courteen's factors had a right to fight for the Crown, and the "bloudy ensign" as a signal to engage or possibly as a sign of "no quarter." The "bloody ensign" or Flag of Defiance was used in both the last senses from the 13th to the 19th century. See J. S. Corbett, *Fighting Instructions*, 1530—1816. I am indebted to Mr S. Charles Hill for the information leading to the above note.

[3] See Illustration No. 29.

Good land and habitation.

Here within were many townes, villages, pretty vallies and Creekes in sightt, the higher land much smoother and better then thatt wee saw heretofore, with great store of Pine shrubbes and high trees of the same.

Snakes and Dogges Flesh eaten for good Meat in China.

Here in the Bazare or Markett among other provisiones there was a snake to bee sold, aboutt 4 or 5 Foote long, alive, his Mouth sowed uppe For biting[1], accompted good meat, and Dogges Flesh allsoe, by report estimated a principall Dishe.

A Pagode or China Church.

Wee went to a Pagode[2] of theirs, a reasonable handsome building and well tyled. On the cheife place of the Altar sate an Image of a Woman of More then Ordinary biggnesse, having on her head an ornament somewhat Resembling an Imperiall Crowne. Nextt withoutt her, off from the Altar, stood 2 greatt statues of Mandareenes with Fannes in their hands, withoutt them 2 other Images of Mandareene, and outermost of all 2 evill Favoured ugly Feindlyke Figures. Of each of these there stood of each side one like a guard a good space [? between] the 2 ranckes[3]. Before the altar their

[1] I have found no confirmation of this method of preserving snakes for the market.

[2] Pagoda, a word of obscure origin (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.*), like Mandarin, is not Chinese and was introduced to the Far East by European travellers. The Cantonese word for a pagoda is *t'âp* (Skr. *stūpa*).

[3] Mundy is describing a Southern Chinese Buddhist temple. The great image that attracted his attention was probably one of Kwan-yin, the Chinese representative of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who, in China, became confused with the indigenous female deity Kwan-yin, the Personification of Mercy, the Hearer of Prayer, thus converting a male Buddhist object of worship into a goddess. Kwan-yin, however, on the southern sea-coast, is frequently represented as a man, a confusion of sex which is natural. See Edkins, *Chinese*

burned a lampe and there stood Divers Frames, like greatt standing Cuppes of 4 or 5 Foote high, whereon they burne incense, pevetts[1], etts., perfumes, with many small Candles sticking in sundry places. There hung a bell within the said pagode of aboutt 4 or 5℄ hundred-waght, off Cast Iron (or perhapps som other Mixture with itt), on which they strike on the outt side with a little woodden Clubbe; it resembled our Europe bells, but not soe broad brymmed[2].

Chaa, what it is.

The people there gave us a certaine Drinke called Chaa, which is only water with a kind of herbe boyled in itt. It must bee Drancke warme and is accompted wholesome[3]. Aboutt Noone wee came aboard againe and tried to another towne on our larboard side over against Fumahone, where wee gotte a bullocke and some hens with promise to have much More in the Morning.

The 11*th of August* [1637]. Wee wentt ashoare to the said towne in our barge, and another boate with an interpreter was sentt to other places. Butt as wee wente forth together and aboutt one same businesse, soe wee retourned aboutt one and the same Tyme and spedde Nere alike, they having broughtt very little and wee

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Buddhism, 239 ff. and 261 f. for a description of Chinese Buddhist temples, including those to Kwan-yin. For a full account of Kwan-yin and the various forms under which he (or she) is worshipped, see *Journal of Indian Art*, I. 113.

[1] This word, which I have failed to find in any dictionary, is undoubtedly a corruption of the Spanish *pebete*, a pastille for fumigation, while a censer is *pebetero*. Mundy seems to be trying to differentiate between the several kinds of incense used. See Edkins, *Religion in China*, p. 25.

[2] Compare Osbeck, *Voyage to China*, 1751 (p. 239), "A bell without a clapper hangs on one side [of the pagoda] and a drum on the other side before the altar." Great bells without clappers are common in the yards of temples wherever Buddhism has spread.

[3] Cantonese, *cha*, tea. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Tea, for numerous quotations. See also Le Comte, *Travels in China*, p. 220, on the virtues of "Thee," and Nieuhoff, *Dutch Embassy to China*, p. 247.

Just nothing, For the Mandareene of Lantao [Wantong] who is Governour of all the townes and villages hereabouts, as allsoe of their Junckes, sent order all aboutt thatt Nothing should bee sould us.

Our Interpreters, who they were.

The aforesaid interpreter was a Chincheo[1], runaway From the Portugalls att our beeing att Macao, who spake a little bad [incorrect] language. There is another Named Antonio, A Capher Eathiopian Abissin, or Curled head[2], thatt came to and Froe aboutt Messages as interpreter, little better then the other, runawaie allsoe From the Portugalls to the Chinois, it beeing an ordinary Matter For slaves on some Discontent or other to run away From their Masters ; and beeing among the Chinois they are saffe, who make use of their service. In ditto Towne was one very handsome house, part of hewen stone and part of an extraordinary large Fine blewish bricke with pillars, arches, etts. This wee were told was a place where the Mandareenes sitt in Justice att some sett tymes[3].

A straunge way off invitation.

As wee returned toward our boate, some Chinois were going to their Pagode to Doe their superstition and to feast, it beeing the Morrow of the New Moone[4], and invited

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[1] A native of Fuhkien. See note [2] on p. 155.

[2] Mundy means a negro slave of the Portuguese who had been given a Christian name by them and perhaps become a convert. The rest of the description indicates a Habshi, the Arabic term for an Abyssinian or Ethiopian, applied in common Oriental parlance to any black African. " Capher " is for Ar. *kāfir*, an infidel, a heathen. Thus the whole phrase signifies a negro slave answering to the name of Antonio.

[3] *Yamên*, Cantonese *Ngamun*, an official building. The " fine blewish bricke " are the ordinary burnt bricks of the country, *ts'ing-chun*, which are of a bluish colour.

[4] One of the four monthly feasts occurring at the new and full moons on the 8th and 23rd of the month. These feasts are called *Kinming sï-chai*, " The four feasts illustriously decreed." See Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 206.

us along with them by Clapping their Fore Finger on the one side of their Nose, which as I was told is used sometymes as a familiar way of Invitation to eat, Drincke and bee Merry[1].

A Church built of oyster shells.

The walles of the said Pagode were built of extraordinary large and long Oyster shells, appearing handsome to sight[2]. In this poore Pagode were no Images, I say statues, only some few Defaced pictures hard to bee discerned.

The Manner of the Chinois ceremonies to their Images in their Pagodes.

Those thatt invited us were the Father and the sonne, who stood upright before the Altar, making Many bowings to the ground, with kneelings. The Father taketh 2 peeces of wood aboutt a spanne long and 2 Inches broad, bluffe or blunt att both ends, Flatt one the one side and rounding on the other, which hee threw uppe many tymes both together, and according as they Fell and lay (soe I conceave), hee interpreted good or bad lucke to themselves[3]. After, hee takes a Cuppe of

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[1] I can find no confirmation of this. Perhaps Mundy misunderstood his interpreter.

[2] The only other reference to buildings of oyster-shells that I have found is in Osbeck's *Voyage to China*, 1751, II. 20, where he noticed "an entire wall of a garden made" of them, on the riverside, near Canton. "The shells were in substance like ours, but larger, longer, and narrower at one end. The Chinese call them *O-a*, or *O-ha* [*hok-ho*]." Professor Giles informs me that oyster-shell buildings are still common in Formosa.

[3] Mundy is describing the divining sticks (*chiao-pai* or *chiao-kua*, in Cantonese *púi-káu*, *káu-púi*, or *káu-kwá*), consisting of two pieces of split wood, or bamboo, in the shape of the two halves of a kidney-bean, which are thrown in the air before the altar in a temple, either Buddhist or Taoist. "Two convex sides uppermost mean a response indifferently good; two flat sides mean negative and bad; one convex and one flat side mean that the prayer will be granted. This form of divination . . . was common" as far back as 300 B.C. H. A. Giles, *Religions of Ancient China*, p. 34.

wyne (as I Imagine)[1], holding it first over his head and Muttring some certaine words, spills part therof on the ground ; then takes hee another Cuppe, wherin was the head, liver and guizzard of a henne, Doing therewith as hee Did with the other, powring outt allsoe a little of the broath on the ground, Making as it were an offring of both unto their Saint before they tast it. Soe ended the Ceremony, a Fire beeing kindled and incense burning all the while before the altar. Then broughtt they us some henne cutt in smalle peeces and Fresh porcke Don in like Manner[2], giving us Choppsticks to eatt our Meat, butt wee knew not how to use them, soe imployed our Fingers.

Our Drincke was warme Rack [*'arak*, spirits][3] outt of a straunge bottle, For on the one side it had a bigge hole wherin they putt kindled coales with a little grate for the ashes to fall Downe in to another place, the licor going round aboutt all within the said bottle. This allsoe serves somtymes to warme their Chaa aforementioned[4], which they allwaies Drinck hotte as the Turckes Doe Coffea, and I thinck used For the same, partly to passe away the tyme, butt Cheiffly For their stomacks sake, it beeing accompted very wholesome.

Having before mentioned Chopstickes, I will Describe a ordinary Fellow, as boatemen, etts., how hee eateth

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[1] Cantonese *tsau*, spirit, the Indian and Oriental *'arak* (arrack and rack). See Edkins, *Religion in China*, p. 24 and footnote.

[2] See Semedo, *History of China*, p. 95, for "That which they sacrifice," and Edkins, *op. cit.*, p. 23, for further details.

[3] This was perhaps *shik-tsau*, mulled wine, or more probably "samshoo" (Cantonese *sam-shiú*, *lit.* thrice-distilled wine or spirit). The common strong drink of the country, which might also have been supplied them, is *shúi-'tsau*, *lit.* "water spirit," distilled from rice.

[4] No other traveller of the period seems to have described the use of the samovar in China. Professor H. A. Giles informs me that the Cantonese term for this vessel is *ch'a-t'ong-u*, tea-scald-pot, which points to a transference of the Russian idea of the self-boiler (*samovar*) and its practical application to the Chinese.

his meat[1], which is commonly on the ground or Decke. Hee taketh the stickes (which are aboutt a foote longe) beetweene his Fingers and with them hee taketh uppe his Meat, beeing first cut smalle, as saltporcke, Fish, etts., with which they relish their Rice (it beeing their common Foode). I say first taking upp a bitt of the Meatte, hee presently applies to his Mouth a smalle porcelane [bowl] with sodden Rice. Hee thrusts, Crammes and stuffes it full of the said Rice with the Chopsticks in exceeding hasty Manner untill it will hold No more. They eat very often and are great Drinckers, Festivall, Frolike and Free[2] as farre as [we] saw. The better sort eat after the same Manner, butt they sitt at tables as we Doe[3].

The 11th of August [1637]. In the afternoone Mr Jno. Mountney, my self and the interpreter went ashoare to the Fort, carrying with us their white Flagge, telling them it was to no purpose. They told us they would send a Chinaman along with us, butt thatt wee had tried allsoe and could not prevaile to gett us provision For our Mony, [and] wee Desired to speake with the Cheife Mandareene. They answeared it could not bee, and thatt wee were yett to stay 4 Daies more for an

[1] See Illustration No. 28. Chopsticks is the Pigeon-English translation of the Cantonese term *fai-tsz, lit.* " the hasteners," through " Pidgin-English " " chop-chop," from Cantonese *kap-kap*, " make haste !"

I have used *sz* as the transcription of certain Chinese ideograms because Eitel (*Cantonese Dict.*) and other Chinese scholars employ these Roman letters for the purpose, so that readers who wish to further investigate the words may do so easily. But the sounds meant to be conveyed can equally well and more readably be indicated by *sí* or *s'í*. Later on in this volume will be found references to *sai-sz* silver. This the man-in-the-street writes as " sycee " silver, which is even more intelligible than the form that scholars have evolved. Many years ago Sir Thomas Wade gave the editor *sai-*(or *sei-*)*szŭ* or *si* as the Cantonese transcription of the Chinese characters now written out as *sai-sz*. The Pekingese (Mandarin) form he gave as *si-szu*.

[2] Festival as an adjective, meaning joyous, glad, is now obsolete. By " Festivall, Frolike and Free " Mundy means " joyous, mirthful and frank."

[3] Montanus, *c.* 1664 (p. 364) says that the Chinese sit at table on " high and artificial wrought stools."

answear. Soe Mr Mountney, throwing Downe the Flagge, wee came away. They cald to us, butt wee went not backe.

Strict watche kept aboard the shippes and wherfore.

This reply wee broughtt aboard, wheruppon it was concluded amongst all to stay outt the 4 Daies, beeing it was our agreementt, in the Meane tyme to keepe good watche to preventt Daunger by Fire, which is thatt wee most fear from them, Allsoe to have our shippes, Men and Munition in a readinesse, which hath bin observed ever since wee came in [to the river] with more then Ordinary. For it seemed to us all Thatt their answeares were Nothing butt Delaies, that they mightt in the Meanetyme secure and strengthen themselves. And as I said before, soe now againe, it is either Don by procurement of the Portugalls, who I conceave would rather Freely give to the Chinois the whole vallue of our Cargazone then thatt wee should have permission to have Free trade with them, knowing it would bee the overthrow and totall Ruine of Macao ; Or the old tradition and Naturall inclination of these peop[l]e Not to suffer straungers to inhabitt and trafficke, in their land : Macao it seemes beeing permitted long since by insinuation of the Jesuitts with the King and greatt Men, presenting them with Divers rarities outt of Europe, as allsoe shewing them of our European learning, untill then unknowne to them, thatt priviledge beeing procured with much Difficulty, Diligence and Cost.

Our barge shotte att From the Fort : Our shippes come up to it and besett it.

The 12th of August [1637]. Our barge beeing sentt to sound the water farther uppe, passed somwhatt Near the Plattfforme [Anung-hoi fort], From whence they

were shott att 3 severall tymes, which caused her to come backe to the shippes. Uppon this they resolved to goe uppe and ride abreast of itt. Then outt went againe our Kings coullours, wastcloathes and bloudy ensigne[1], And the tide of Floud serving, wee came uppe, Anchored Near unto itt [the fort] and beesett it with our 4 shippes. Then From the Plattfforme they began to Discharge att us allsoe Near a dozen shotte before wee answeared one. By their working wee perceaved whatt good gunners they were and how well they were fitted, For many of their owne shott Dropte downe outt off the Mouth of the peece close under the walle. Others were shotte att random happe hazard quite another way, giving fire to them with wett ventts even as the peeces lay on the round wall, withoutt ayming or traversing them att all. However, one shotte came and Cutt a little of the *Dragons* Maine Halliards a little abuove Man height, The Admirall then walking on the halff Decke.

Wee beegin to batter: The Chinois beegin to fly.

Att length wee beegan to Discharge our Ordnance on all hands, First the Admirall [the chief ship, the *Dragon*], then the rest, with sound of Drummes and trumpetts. Some of our shotte soe lighted [on] and Frighted them thatt within ½ howre there ran outt att the gate Neare a score of them along the strand, and soe gotte beehind a point. Wee conceaving there were some yett remayning within, continued shooting, butt hearing No More From them (For I thincke when they had once Discharged those gunnes of theirs thatt were laden, they had no greatt Minde to charge them againe), Our boates well Manned were sent ashoare; butt by the tyme they were gotten halffe way, there came Forth off the Fort aboutt a Dozen More, butt None of any quallity thatt wee could perceave.

[1] See *ante*, pp. 188—189.

The Fort abandoned : Whatt Booty.

Our people beeing landed and Finding the gates open, entred the Fort, tooke Downe the China Flagge, hung it over the wall and theron advaunced our Kings coullours. Then wentt the Commaunders on shoare allsoe, Where they found aboutt 44 smalle Drakes[1] of Near 4 or 5 hundredwaightt each, made by Chinois of Mixed Iron Cast, allsoe some plancks. Other things there were None, excepting potts, pannes, stooles, etts. rubbish. Having Defaced the battlementts and sett fire of the buildings within, wee broughtt away the gunnes (some 4 or 5 excepted which were broken in their throwing Downe over the wall) and some plancks etts. Wee came all aboard againe. I have sett downe the taking of this plattfforme somwhat largely, beecause it was soe orderly Don and the First skirmish thatt I yett ever saw my selfe in by land or Sea, this acte rather shewing the Manner then Deserving the Name of the taking of a Fort, it beeing of No great Daunger, Difficulty or resistance, as aforesaid. However, herein wee shewed our Discontents For their refusing our Freindly proffeers For a peaceable Commerce, And seeing all Faire Meanes will not prevaile, wee thoughtt good to Make triall of the Contrary. In Conclusion, the peace is broken and Now more then [ever] it beehooves us to stand uppon our guard.

Additional accounts of the skirmish of the 12th August 1637.

(1). *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.).

After the End of 4 daies, haveinge (as they thought) sufficiently fortified themselves, they treacherously breaking this agreed Truce, discharged

[1] An obsolete term for a small cannon.

divers shott (though without hurte) upon our barge, which passed by them to find out a convenient wateringe place. Herewith the whole fleet beinge justly incensed, did on the sudden displaye their bloody Ensignes, and weighing the Anchors, fell upp with the flood and birthed themselves before the Castle, from whence came many shott before wee began with them, yett not one that touched soe much as hull or rope, until one which cutt the maine halliards of the *Dragon*. Whereupon, not being able to endure their bravadoes any longer, each Shipp began to play furiously upon them with their broad sides. And after 2 or 3 howres, perceivinge their cowardly fainting, our boates were landed with about 100 men, which sight occasioned them with great distractions instantly to abandon the Castle and Fly. Ours in the meane tyme without lett, Entringe the same and displainge his Majesties Cullours of great Brittaine upon the walls, and haveing the same night putt abourd all their Ordnance and divers planckes which they had reared for barracodoes upon the battlements, they fired their Councell house and dimolished what they could, and so returned to the shipps.

(2). Weddell's own account (*O.C.* 1662).

The apointed tyme for answere beinge expired, I sent to the walls of the Castle to knowe the Mandereenes minde, but they would not be spoken withall, and thus they served me 3 dayes together. I sent my bardge to sound about the Castle wall to see whether our shipps might Come nearer to it, but Cominge neere the Castle, the Chineses made 3 shott at the barge. One flewe over her, the other 2 fell shorte at the barges side, and did noe harme at all. Hereupon I Called all the Commaunders and merchants together and demaunded their opinions what were beste to be done in reguard wee found nothinge but delayes and that there was noe hopes of anie trade by faire meanes, wee were all of opinion to laye all our shippes as neere the walls of the Castle as wee Could well Come, and to

batter it about their eares. Soe wee waied presentlie with the flood and with our shipps ancored within musquett shott of the Castle. The *Dragon* lett fall her ancor within pistoll shott of the walls, and the Castle made 13 shott at us ere wee Could bringe a peece of ordinance to beare upon them. But as soone as wee brought our shipp to beare upon them, wee kept them from lodinge their gunnes anie more ; soe that in ½ howres space one of the Companies of soldiers begunn to runne for it, which wee perceivinge, wee manned our boates and landed our men, but none would stay in the Castle to receive us, but all ranne away and lefte the Castle for us to possesse. Our men entered and placed his majesties Cullours upon the walls. In the interim they were all gott up on a hill which overtopped the Castle and threwe greate stones into the same, so that wee were not able to hold it. Soe wee fell to work in gettinge aboard our shippes their ordinance, and dismantled the walls ; and soe quited the Castle, still beinge under the comaund of our ordinance. That night wee had gotten 35 peeces aboard our ship[pes]. This beinge done, the Allarum flew up to Cantan which is a[s] farre distant as London bridge is to Eriff[1].

A Juncke taken by us.

The 13th [*12th p.m.*] *Ditto* [*August* 1637]. Wee tooke a juncke with our boates and broughtt her aboard. Shee had only in her a few tymbers, planckes, Arcabus a Croc[2], Bamboo speares and a little Rice, which was all handed in to the Admirall with some of their people, who in submissive Manner Fell on their knees when they came aboard. I say wee tooke her the 12th Ditto in the afternoone.

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[1] For a fourth account of this skirmish, see the letter of 19th December 1637, *Courteen Papers*, Appendix D.

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 122.

A strange conclusion tried.

The [13*th August* 1637]. The said Junck was Manned with English with some Chinois to scull her, and sent ahead to intercept others thatt should passe as not Mistrusting[1]. Allso the *Sunnes* Skiffe was sentt ashoare to try if they could buy any Cattle, provision, etts. (which may seeme straunge to surprize and take and to seeke trade and refreshing From the same people at the same tyme) ; butt contrariwise they had some skirmish with the Country people, whereuppon our boates were sent to Succour them ; soe at last all came well off and returned in saffety[2]. To day wee allso took a poore fisherman ; 5 of their Men got away by swyming ; other 2 with the boate were taken and presently [immediately] released againe. Wee allsoe tooke a bigge Juncke laden with salt[3], bound For Cantan ; the Men all Fledd.

Some of the First Juncks people were in their owne Cockboate[4] sent with a lettre to Cantan, written in China Characters, shewing therin a reason of our thus proceeding with them, and thatt contrariwise our Desire was to have their Freindshipp and Free Commerce in their Country ; the rest of thatt company should remayne with us till the others returned[5].

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[1] In modern English this would run :—The said junk, manned by English with some Chinese to scull her, was sent ahead to meet those coming down the river, so that they might pass her without suspicion (obsolete sense of mistrusting). In the letter of 19th December 1637 (*Courteen Papers*, Appendix D), the reasons for manning the junk with Englishmen are more distinctly stated. It is also recorded that the captain and his son, " a little Child " were kept on board the English fleet.

[2] For an account of this incident, see below.

[3] The writers of the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) say that the cargoes of salt, timber, &c., were " safely kept from spoile, And afterwards, uppon proffer of peace, freely delivered and surrendred upp againe to the owners."

[4] A small ship's boat, especially the small boat towed behind a coasting vessel going up or down river.

[5] According to the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.), the letter to " the Cheife Mandryns att Canton

Thomas Robinson's skirmish with the country folk

(*Continuation of the China Voyage, Marine Records,* vol. LXIII.).

All provisions of refreshinge growinge scarce in the Shipps and sicke men much necessitated, Thomas Robinson went on shoare with the barge and a whitt flagg to certaine villages to procure what he might, beinge accompanied only with 7 musketters, and haveinge passed about a Myle upp in the Country, made their his Station in an open porch of one of their Idoll Temples, untill the people had brought in henns, hoggs, etc., for which, whilest the mony was payinge, he descried about 350 Chinesses, armed with swords, bucklers, launces, etc., makeinge towards them ; and beinge approached very neare, they began to rayse a confused shoute after the manner of the Irish hubbub[1]. Wherupon he called to his Company instantly to handle their musketts and to be carefull that they were not cutt off from the passage to the waterside to which they now approched, but were resolutly and undauntedly put to retreate by ours, whoe, dischargingе 3 att once and then retyringe whilst the others came upp, held them play [kept them engaged] in a fayre manner without any dammadge (though they lost some), till they had recovered the waterside, where beinge arryved, they found a supply of about 60 small shott sent from the Shipps, invited by the dischargingе of their musketts in this occasion. With these, beinge reinforced, they marched upp againe and recovered what they had formerly paid for and were constrained to leave behind. Yett offred they noe violence to people or howses.

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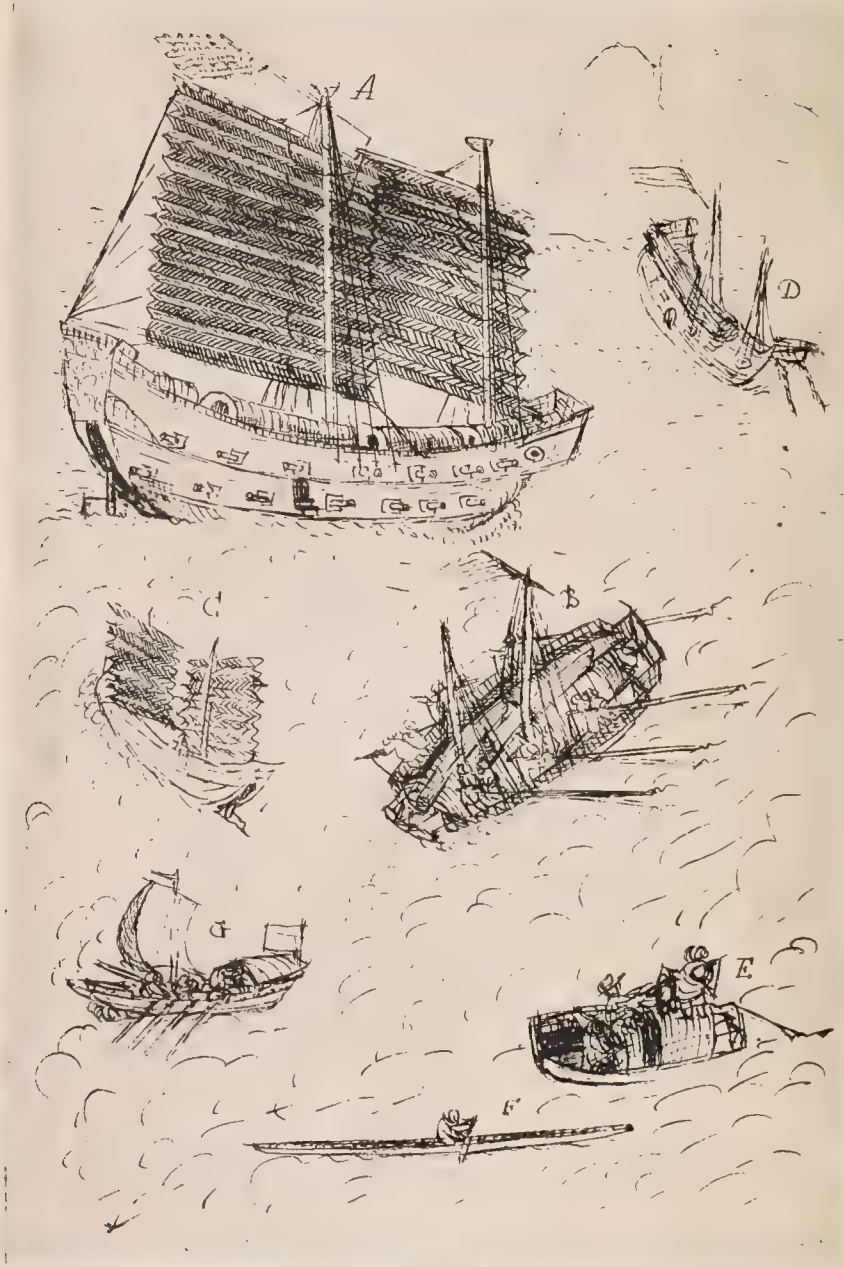
expostulateinge their breach of truce, and Excusinge our assaylinge the Castle, and withall in fayre tearmes requiringe the libertie of a free trade," was sent by the third boat seized, a " vessel of small moment."

[1] " The Irish hubbub," (hubbaboo), is an old term referring to the ancient Irish expression *abu* or war-cry. It consisted of confused yelling. Hence " the Irish hubbub " came to mean any savage war-cry, tumult or turmoil.



No. 29. Juncks etts [and other] China Vessels.

Juncks[1].

Having before in severall places Mentioned Juncks ett[s]. China vessells, I have here sett some sorts of such as I have seene, *viz.*

[Mundy's description of Illustration No. 29.]

Admirall of the Kings Fleete etts. greatt Juncke.

A: The Forme of the Admirall Juncke[2] thatt came unto us as wee wente towards Cantan. They have no topsailes, only Mainsaile and Foresaile of Cajanes[3] and Bambooes, made like Mattes, which instead of taking in, they lett Falle in plates one uppon another as lettre B. This had 2 things on their heads of their Mast, somwhatt like toppes; others had butt one, and Most of them None. The better sort had Falce galleries, all of them Doores in their broadsides, Furnished with Drakes, such smalle gunnes as wee tooke outt of the Castle. They saile very swifft and will lye Nearer the winde then wee can, turne and tacke sodainely, their sailes (whither afore or abaft the Mast) all one like hoyesailes[4], high sided, hard to enter, there beeing Nothin to hold by, weakly plancked and timbred and about [blank] tonnes burthen the bigger sort. These are the Kings Men of Warre hereaboutts in this River and Creeks adjoyning.

[1] The term junk (Malay *ajong, jong,* a large ship) is applied by Europeans to Chinese vessels of all sorts. The generic Cantonese word for a ship, boat or junk is *shün.*

[2] Cantonese, *shui-sz-shün,* Admiral's ship. *Cf.* Father Magaillans, *History of China,* p. 129: "Among the King's Barks, those which are call'd *So chuen* are employ'd to carry the Mandarins to their several Governments. These are made like our Caravels, but high, and so well Painted . . . that they resemble Buildings erected for some publick Solemnity, rather than ordinary Hoy's."

For other travellers' descriptions of Chinese vessels, see Mendoza (1588), ed. Staunton, I. 148—150; Montanus (*c.* 1660), pp. 608—612; Dampier (1687), I. 412—413; Le Comte, *Travels in China* (1688), pp. 230—231; Du Halde (1735), II. 89—90.

[3] See *ante,* note on p. 132.

[4] That is, square sails in one piece. The hoy was a small vessel, usually rigged as a sloop, but Mundy is describing the ordinary square sail of Oriental river boats.

Skulling Men of Warre.

B: Another sort of Men of warre, having as it were a gallery From stemme to sterne without board, made of Bamboes, wherin men stand to skulle, some 8 or 9 oares of a side and 2 or 3 Men att an oare, which beareth on a pin, and the end of the handle fastned with a string to the vessells side. The blade beeing heaviest, weyeth uppe the handle, which beeing tied, can goe noe Farther as thus:

They skull with great swifftnesse allmoste holding way with our barge. These wee call skulling Juncks, beeing small vessells, their Decks and coverings rounding[1].

A vessell under saile.

C: A vessell under saile, one saile lying one way and the other tother, and one before the Mast and the other abaft[2].

A vessell att Anchor.

D: A vessell at an Anchore with her saile lowered and lying in plates, their Cables generally off Rattanes and Killicks[3], with great stones For Anchors.

A labouring boate.

E: A poore mans boate by which he getteth his living either by Fishing or transporting or carrying

[1] These vessels would now be classed as *kün-shün*, government boats.

[2] Cantonese, *wai-pang-shün*. See Warrington Smyth, *Mast and Sail*, p. 401.

[3] Killick, a heavy stone used on small vessels (*wai-pang-shün*) as a substitute for an anchor.

goodes, where hee keepeth house with his Family, soe thatt not only himselffe, but his wiffe with a Child att her backe (which is as good as rocking For it), with the rest of the Children, alle putt hand to the Oare[1]. This representts a watcheboate with a Portugall sitting in her, hired ; of these Many aboutt and in Macao[2] :

A little long prow.

F : A smalle little low long Narrow shallow prow, which wee saw aboutt Macao. I know not For whatt use, appearing to sightt like a long peece of timber Floating on the water[3].

Manchooas or vessells for recreation etts. service.

G : Manchooas[4] or small vessells of recreation, used by the Portugalls here, as allsoe att Goa, pretty handsome things resembling little Frigatts, Many curiously carved, guilded and painted, with little beake heads.

The China vessells before mentioned are used here aboutt Macao and the River of Cantan in smooth waters. Other formes there are, greatt and smalle, with high

[1] This represents the family boat, *chü-ká-t'eng*.

[2] Mundy seems to have omitted this boat from his drawing. He probably meant to depict a guard-boat or revenue cruiser, *chun-shün* I am indebted for this and the above identifications of boats to Mr M. C. Jame.

[3] The dragon-boat or skiff of the Canton River, *lung-shün*. Compare Magaillans, p. 130 : " There are other Vessels call'd *L'am chuen*, very light and small in Comparison of the other, and which are almost as broad as they are long . . . These are for the use of the Men of learning, and other wealthy Persons and People of Quality."

[4] Manchua. This term is very interesting, as it is properly the Portuguese name for a large cargo-boat on the West Coast of India, taken from the native generic names for sea-going boats from Gujarāt to Cochin—the *machhwā*, a fishing and also cargo-boat, the *manja* (Malayālam, *manji*), a large cargo-boat, the *mahāngiri*, a large *machhwā* used for a trading boat. The term *manchua* has apparently been transferred to the Far East by the Portuguese to represent the Cantonese term, *man-shün*, a sea-going trading vessel. From Mundy's description, the Portuguese also applied the term *manchua* to a pleasure sailing vessel which they used at Macao. The earliest quotation for *manchua* is from Correa (*c.* 1512), I. 281. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Manchua ; *Bombay Gazetteer* (*Thana*), vol. XIII pt. 2, pp. 719—720.

boarded sides, able to endure the Sea in foule wether, as the vessells of the Chincheos etts.; others thatt trafficke abroad *viz.*, To Japane, Mannilla, Java etts., called Somars[1].

The Chinois come to parley.

The 15th of August [1637]. Came a petty Mandareene[2] with a flagge of Truce. Hee came from the higher powers to know our grievances, which having told him, hee then promised to Doe his best thatt wee Mightt have our Desires, *viz.*, Free trade, a Commodious place For our shippes and a house on shoare For our selves

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[1] The term "somar, soma, somme," for a vessel in the China Sea, was in general use from the end of the 16th to the middle of the 18th century as the following extracts will show.

1609.—"Usually there come from great China to Manila a large number of *somas* and junks, which are large ships laden with merchandise." De Morga, p. 337.

1622.—"They also told the King, they thought verily all our Fugitives [from Japan] were secretly conveyed from Langasaque [Nagasaki] seven daies past in a Soma." *Relation* of Master Richard Cockes in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Maclehose, III. 537.

1636.—"In May 1633 there went forth from the Province of Chincheo 40 vessels, which they style *Somas*, to Manila laden with goods." *Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons, Translations*, vol. XI., letter of 7th March 1636 N.S.

1687.—"We were on board a small Chinese Vessel, called a *Somme* by the Portuguese." Le Comte, p. 7.

1751.—"Junks, called . . . in the Portuguese language *Soma* or *Sommes*, are the greater vessels, about 200 ft. long and 20 broad." Osbeck, *Voyage to China*, I. 195.

Lacerda, *Portuguese Dictionary*, defines *somma* as "a sort of small ship, used in the island of Japan," and *soma* as "an Asiatic term, a sort of ship." The word does not, however, appear to be either Malay, Chinese or Japanese, but (like *manchua*) a Portuguese form taken from one of the names for coasting vessels on the West Coast of India. *Shuvāl* represents a *machhwā* in the South Konkan. A large form of it is called a *shibār* (Gujarātī, *chibār*), from Persian *shāhībār*, the royal carrier, and is the largest of the fast sailing coasters on the West Coast. In the 17th century these were armed and used as minor fighting vessels by both the natives and the English. See *Bombay Gazetteer* (*Thana*), vol. XIII. pt. I. pp. 345, 348—349; Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion*, p. 37, &c.

[2] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.), we learn that the envoy who came in answer to the letter sent on the 13th August, was "A Mandryn of noe great note (sometimes a Portugall Christian), called Paulo Noretty [Pablo Noretti]."

to inhabitt, in all which, and whatt elce wee could Demaund in reason, hee Doubted nott butt would bee obteyned easily and speedily. Wee on the other side promised full satisfaction and restitution of all hindrances and Dammages past, and to Confirme Freindshippe with them hereafter. Soe hee Departed[1], and wee released the salt Juncke.

Weddell's version of the above interview (*O.C.* 1662).

> The 15 August came one Paulo Norette [Pablo Noretti], a Mandereen who formerlie had bene a servant and broker in Mocao, whoe beinge abused by the Portingalls fled to Cantan and served the Generall of the Cittie of Mocao Called Campeyn [*Tsung-ping*, governor]. This man Came abourd of us with a flagge of truce and wee entertayned him Verie curteouslie and demaunded his message [which] was that he Came with warrant from the great Mandereens in Cantan to know the reason of our cominge into their partes, and what wee desired. We told him wee were English men and Came to seeke a trade with them in a faire way of merchandizinge, but wee had beene abused by some of the under Mandereens and some of our men slayne by them, and for that Cause wee were Constrayned to doe what wee had done. He said that the Great Mandereens knewe nothinge of it, but if wee would Consent to deliver up the gunnes and other materialls which wee had taken out of the Castle, hee would goe up to the Mandereens Champain [*Tsung-ping*], his master, and acquainte him with the businesse, and hee doubted not but wee should have our desire, and he would be the meanes to procure it, provided that wee would pay the Kinges duties as the Portingalls did. All this wee gave him under our hands.

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[1] According to the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.), he was presented with "certaine giftes" and dismissed "to his Masters, who were some of the cheife Mandryns rideinge about a pointe off land not farr from us."

Some of our Merchantts with a presentt goe uppe to Cantan.

The 16th Ditto [*August* 1637]. Came the said Mandareene and Desired thatt 2 mightt bee appointed to goe along with him to Cantan there to putt in our petition[1], wherein hee would assist us to the uttermost of his power, and would worcke the Portugalls whatt Mischeiffe hee could, by reason, as hee said, they had wrongued and Disgraced him and would have sold him as a slave. Hee now lives with the Cheeompee [*Tsung-ping*], a greatt Man in this province, having wiffe and Children at Macao, and had served the Portugall[s] these 6 or 7 yeeres For Jurabasse[2] or interpreter att their Mart att Cantan[3], where they Make an annuall investmentt of 1,500,000 taies [tael], which is Nere to 1,000,000 of Ryall [of] eightt[4]. Uppon these his wordes, Mr John Mountney and Mr Thomas Robinson, who had formerly bin part of the way in the pinnace *Anne*, wentt Now with the said Mandareene in his owne Juncke[5]. They carried with them For presentt a Ritche embrodered [ornamented] Cabinett, a bason and Ewer of Silver, etts., Soe thatt Now there appeared some hopes of setling a trade in these parts.

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[1] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*op. cit.*) says that Noretti returned "the same night with a small Joncke and full authoritie to carry upp such as should be appointed to Canton, there to tender a petition and to conclude farther upon the manner of our future proceedings."

[2] Malay *juru-bahāsa* (master of speech), interpreter.

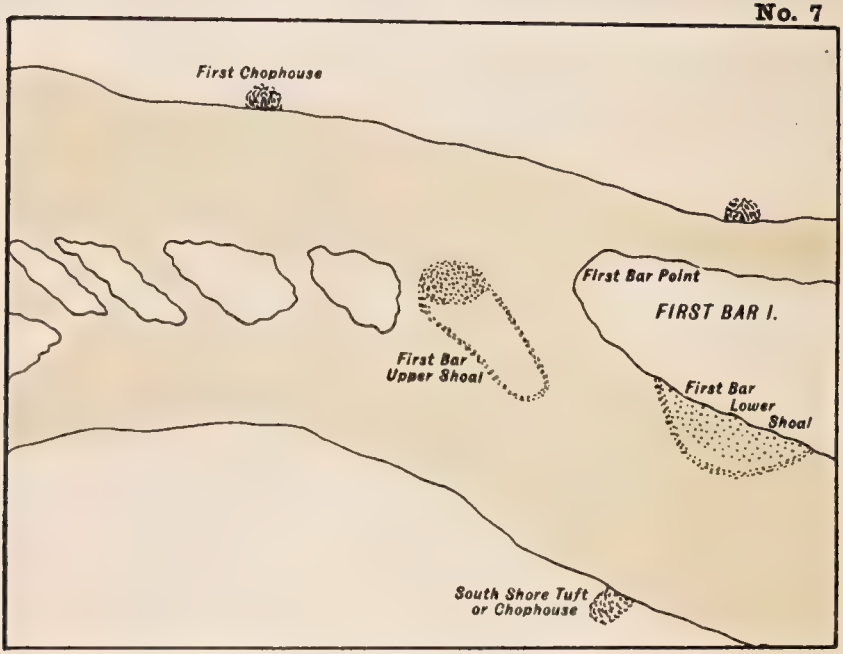
[3] Noretti was a Chinese who had been converted to Christianity by the Portuguese and employed by them as an interpreter. In 1636, he relapsed and left their service, and was said to have been guilty of deceit and malpractices. See the letters of December 1637 to King Charles I. and to the Viceroy of Goa in Appendix E.

[4] Mundy is here reckoning the tael at 10 mace and the real of eight (Spanish dollar) at about seven mace, as per his table given at the end of *Relation* XXVI.

[5] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that "one Charles Webb accompanied Robinson and John Mountney, and that they "went not out of the Junke that night."

The Boca Tigris, 1637. No. 6

No. 7



The First Bar, 1637.

They returne From thence.

The 19th [*August* 1637]. Aboutt Midnightt our Merchantts returned From Cantan with the people of the sallt Juncke which wee had Formerly sentt, Ours having had audience and promise to grauntt their reasonable requests, Desiring them to returne to their shippes, where there should bee appointed certaine Mandareens of quallity to treat with us aboutt Capitulationes[1] of trade. This they said they were told.

Further details of the visit to Canton (*Continuation of the China Voyage, Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.).

16*th August* 1637. John Mounteney and Thomas Robinson passed upp the river, and the next eveninge arryved att the cittye, anchoringe close under the walls in sight of the pallace of Champin, the Admyrall Gennerall.

18*th August* 1637. On the morrow, haveinge procured a petition to be formally drawne by the meanes of the said Noretty[2] (who after shalbe styled our Keby or Broker)[3], they were called ashoare about 3 in the afternoone and received into the pallace, with many great shott and chambers[4]. Passing through a treble guard placed in 3 courts[5], and att length comeinge in sight of the Cheefs there

[1] An obsolete term indicating the making of an agreement, terms or treaty.

[2] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that the petition (which is given below) was "drawne in China languadge and by them [Robinson and Mountney] signed."

[3] "Keby" obviously represents the Portuguese form "queve" (see the Petition given below), meaning a go-between. The Cantonese form is *kan-pan*, one who attends, attendant interpreter. The proper Cantonese term for a broker is *king-ki*, one who understands the business.

[4] "With many great shott and chambers" appears to mean, "where were many great and small cannon." "Shot" and "chamber" are both obsolete terms, the former for cannon and firearms generally and the latter for a small piece of ordnance without a carriage, used to fire salutes. See the *O.E.D.* for definitions and examples.

[5] According to Weddell (*O.C.* 1662), the guard numbered 2000 armed men.

assembled[1], they were willed, according to the Cuntry Custome, to Sumba or kneele[2], and Thomas Robinson, houldinge the petition att large [unfolded] extended upon his head[3], delivered it to Noretty to Carry up to Champin. The contents wherof be soe reasonable, as before specified, he presently [immediately] consented unto, and promised his uttmost assistance, blameinge the treacherye of the Portugalls, whom he taxed as Authors, by their slanders, of all the precedent inconveniences; and indeed he hath ever since continued our fast frend, as by the sequell wilbe evident[4].

Copy of the First Petition made by the English to the Mandarins of Canton this year, 1637[5] (*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV.).

The Mandarin who comes from the West[6] to buy and sell, and the others, send this petition. Desiring to reside in this Kingdom and above all to buy and sell, which, though we live in the West, we can do with justice and ability, having come here now eight years[7]. Therefore we came to the bar-

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[1] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that there were two Mandarins and that the English were halted about "a shippes length from them."

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 88.

[3] Weddell, however, says (*O.C.* 1662) that the petition was "hanginge about their neck" and "was presentlie fetched from them."

[4] In the letter of 19th December 1637 (*Courteen Papers*, Appendix D), it is said that it was agreed that the English should pay "for this present investment 10000 Rs. of 8, to be devided amongst the Mandereens, and if wee setled, then to pay as the Portingalls did which is 30000 yearly."

[5] There are two copies of this document in the *Lisbon Transcripts* at the India Office. One bears the title given above and the other is entitled, "Copy of the first Chapa" and is undated. It is undoubtedly the petition drawn up by Pablo Noretti and presented to the Mandarins, at Canton by Thomas Robinson and John Mountney on the 18th August, as related above.

[6] This title seems to refer to Captain John Weddell, the head of the expedition.

[7] An incorrect statement. The first English attempt to trade with China was in 1635 when, as previously stated (see note on p. 167), the *London* made a voyage to Macao under the wing of the Portuguese.

barians of Macau[1], that they might show us the way, and tell us what to bring. But they are false and treacherous by their Queves[2], who collect for them every year much silver, and they also take our silver, amounting many years to ten thousand [taels][3], and as those of Macau did not wish to take our silver to make use of it as they had always done, they (those of Macau) put poison in the food they gave us, and killed over forty of our men, and sent us to the Gate of the Tiger [Boca Tigris]; and there the mandarins refusing to receive us, by favour of the Haitao and Cumpim [*Tsung-ping*], Norete [Pablo Noretti] came with a chapa [*chhāp*, license] and brought the goods with the price of the silver, and this with a warm heart and true, and no deceit; and there was no deception in the provisions they brought us.

Later, the Paoỹe[4] sent a Fanu[5] to bid us depart for Macau to trade there, and we were willing, but fearing that those of Macau had evil designs upon us, and would take our silver, we who are simple and honest folk, feared that they would kill us.

Now we are six persons here to deal with this matter, and the stores and all things are available without hindrance. We now desire that two of us, together with Nourete, shall go to our ships and bring twenty thousand tais [taels] for the King's treasury, the weighing to be done openly as in Macau, which silver we desire shall be delivered in presence of the Queves and the barbarians of Macau; and the other four men to remain in Canton until our return; and when all is settled they may depart, and we shall be thereby free and discharged.

Agrees with the original.

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

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[1] The Portuguese. In Chinese parlance all nations besides themselves were "barbarians" or "redhaired barbarians."

[2] See note [3] on p. 209.

[3] This statement seems to be an invention on the part of Noretti.

[4] Cantonese, *T'au-yan*, the Chief, *i.e.*, Domingos da Camara.

[5] Cantonese, *Fan-ún*, a deputy district magistrate, small official.

A Patent for trade with the Chinois: The effect therof.

The 21th [*August* 1637]. Our Mandareene came againe, Bringuing with him From the Aytao, Chompee [*Hai-tao, Tsung-ping*], etts., (greatt Men att Cantan), a patent or firmaen [*farmān*] in China writing[1], pasted on a greatt board such as are usu[a]lly carried before Men off office[2]. The effect thereof (as hee himselffe interpreted unto us) was Thatt in regard the Portugall had Denied us att [?all] trade att Macao, And thatt wee had bin forced to seeke For itt hither, and willing to pay the Kings Duties, They graunted us Free leave to buy and sell any Comodity in their Country, appointing us the Choice of 3 severall places Fort [? for] our shippes to Ride in[3], Allsoe power and authority to Mandareene Tonpuan[4] the bearer therof, otherwise called Paolo Nurette, to Negotiate Further and assist us in all things (it is the same who came to parley with us, *viz.*, the Jurabasse aforementioned), And therefore hee Desired thatt 2 or 3 Merchantts Might bee ready to goe uppe with him within a Daie or two unto Cantan there to provide whatt they should see Needffull, as gold, Muske, Raw silke, stuffes, etts. [and other] fine goods; And as For Sugar, Porcelane, greene ginger, China rootes[5], etts. course

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[1] *The Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) says that they returned on the 20th August. Weddell adds (*O.C.* 1662) that the *farmīn* permitted "the lodinge of 4 shippes, payinge to the Kinge such a somme of money yearely." Noretti was, however, giving a false interpretation to the document. See the translation (*infra*) which was afterwards furnished to the English by a Jesuit.

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 171.

[3] *The Continuation of the China Voyage* (*op. cit.*), however, states that the *farmīn* gave them "Free trade and liberty to fortifie upon any Convenient [place] without the mouth of the river."

[4] *T'ung-p'an*, Assistant Sub-Prefect.

[5] The drug known as *Smilax pseudo-china* or China-root of the South, Cantonese *lang-fan-táu*, which should not be confused with *Radix Chinæ* and *Tuber Chinæ*, *fu-ling*, Cantonese *fuk-ling* (*Pachyma cocos*). See Garcia da Orta, ed. Markhams, pp. 378—388; Montanus, p 678. Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 120, remarks: "China Root

commodities, they were to bee had hereabouts. Whereuppon, thatt Nightt all the gunnes lately taken From the plattfforme were restored againe and the other Juncke with her people were released, and restitution made off all whatt elce had bin taken From them[1]. Soe Nurette Departed For thatt Nightt:

The 22th [*August* 1637]. Our Mandareene came againe and said the Tootan who is viceroy[2] of this Province of Cantan, beeing New Confirmed, Was going in circuit to visitt his governementt, and had sentt For him, soe of Necessity must goe to him, and thatt hee would informe him of us and soe procure his confirmation of our patentt aforesaid.

[The correct rendering of the official document of the Mandarins of Canton, dated August 1637, falsely interpreted by Noretti.]

(*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV.).

Copy of the Chapa of the Aitao and Cumprim (*Hai-tao* and *Tsung-ping*), which was sent from Canton and is as follows.

The Aitao of [the country] called China and the Comprim.

As it is well to know the instructions given concerning the information communicated to us by the Mandarins of Canton, that four ships of barbarians with red hair had come thither from afar, and upon their arrival had anchored within the Mouth of the Tiger [Boca Tigris]; who, upon being questioned as to their business, vomited

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should be large, weighty, and sound, without Worm-holes; white or reddish within; but I know no Difference in its Goodness for the Colour. It grows in the Ground like Ginger or Potatos." See Osbeck, *Voyage to China*, I. 195, 255.

[1] Weddell (*O.C.* 1662) gives the number as "35 peeces," and says that the restitution was "well taken by the Great Mandereenes." The *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*op. cit.*), adds that "a seeminge peace on all sides Ensued."

[2] *Tu-t'ung*, one of the titles of a Viceroy.

from their mouth that they had received license from three Mandarins to hold intercourse and to trade. And that they now asked those Mandarins who had given them this promise, that should there be any other Mandarin who with his soldiers should impede them in this matter, they should be held as mortal enemies.

And the Mandarin of the Mouth of the Tiger advised the Cumprim, who is the Commander-in-Chief, of other matters relating to this question. And the latter upon hearing this, equipped a thousand soldiers and some tens of mortars to drive them out, and intimate to them that entry to buy and sell would not be given them, as is notorious to all.

And after telling them this many times, and that they must return to their kingdom, and that we would not allow them to come and disturb our lands, this same notice was affixed at the Mouth of the Tiger, where they had asked for means of trading. Because, having to ask this of us, permission should have been asked of the Organchanty[1], the Aitao and the Cumprim[2], so that they might consult with the Visitador [Judicial Inspector] and Viceroy; and had they given license, then it might have been [confirmed].

But coming by force and against my will and permission may not be done in this land by those who come hither to trade. And seeing that some profit may be made, they are dazzled and deceive the lower classes. And you do not know the laws of China, for in China there are very strict laws, and he who breaks them knows no pardon; therefore nothing could be stricter.

And I command as far as I may, and for this purpose I dispatch the Mandarin who bears this sentence, who will forthwith give this order to the ships of the red-haired barbarians, and upon receiving this our order they shall instantly weigh anchor and put out to the open sea. For you have shown great daring in attempting to trade by force with

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[1] *On-chat-sz*, a provincial (criminal) judge.

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 177.

us, we having forbidden it; and in so doing you appear to me to be like puppies and goats who have no learning and no reason.

One or two of your men, like men without sense, have pressed this business upon me and the Commander-in-Chief that we should consider what you are doing; therefore I warn you that should you have the great boldness to harm so much as a blade of grass or a piece of wood, I promise you that my soldiers shall make an end of you, and not a shred of your sails shall remain, should you do such a thing; and you shall have no time for repentance and your sin shall not be forgiven.

This is a faithful rendering of what is in the Chapa, this day, 27th October 1637 [N.S.=17 October O.S.],

BENTO DE MATTHES[1]

[Translator.]

Agrees with the original

Domingos de Figueiredo.

The Pinnace *Anne* sentt to Discover a Place For our shippes.

This Day The Pinnace *Anne* was Dispeeded to view, the places appointed For our shipping as aforementioned[2]. There went in her to this purpose Mr Thomas Woollman Master of the *Sunne*, my selffe and an interpreter. Unto the one wee wentt nott, itt beeing too Neare Macao. The 2d was an Iland called Quittaoo, a wilde open roade[3].

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[1] The translator is referred to by Mundy in *Relation* XXVI. (*infra*) as "a Jesuitt skillfull in the Chinese tongue," but it was some time before the English could be induced to accept his version of the document instead of Noretti's.

[2] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) says it was on the 23rd August that the "*Ann* was sent to scearch out some Iland without the river, which might be Convenient to settle uppon."

[3] If by "Quittaoo" is meant Kwai-tau (Tortoise Head), an islet of the Kaipong Islands, lying on the outside of the estuary of the Canton River, Mundy is right. The place would have been in every way unsuitable.

The last was Chacwan lying Near unto Lantau[1], which had 2 baies; the one of them had Deepe water butt held unffitt, the other More commodious but shallow. However, this last was held the best For presentt, in regard of its Nearnesse unto Lantao and a Number of townes lying along the shoare, which they say is the Maine of China. This place is aboutt 10 leagues From Fumaone, an [? and] Nantee or Lanteea [Lintin], a round Iland, lyieth aboutt the Medway beetweene this Chacwan and Quittaoo aforesaid[2].

Her Returne to the Fleete. Our Cape Merchantt with others gon uppe to Cantan.

The 26th currantt [August 1637]. By 2 in the Morning wee came backe to our Fleete, and here wee understood how Mr Nathaniell Mountney, our cape Merchantt[3], with his Brother Mr Jno. Mountney and Mr Robbinson afforesaid, and 2 or 3 attendantts were gon uppe to Cantan with Sir [Senhor, Mr] Paolo [Pablo Noretti], the 24th in the Morning, and had Carried Much treasure with them[4].

The *Dragon* lost 3 men.

In our absence the shipp *Dragon* lost 3 Men, *viz.*, the First by a Consumption. The 2d by a blow on the

[1] "Chacwan" may represent Shakwan on the northern or Fan-si-ak Channel of the Canton river. If so, "Lantau" in this case indicates Lantau or Tai-ho Island at the mouth of the estuary, and not Wantong near Boca Tigris.

[2] The distance between Shakwan and Fumaon, a village near Wantong Forts, is roughly that given by Mundy, and Lintin [Ling-ting, Lonely] Island lies, as he states, about midway between Shakwan and Kwai-tau.

[3] Cape-merchant, head merchant or supercargo; in this case used in the former sense. Nathaniel Mountney was the chief commercial agent of the expedition. See *ante*, p. 20.

[4] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that the "treasure" amounted to "12 Chestes," and the letter of 19th December 1637 (*Courteen Papers*, Appendix D) gives the amount as 22000 reals of 8, besides two small "Chestes of Japan plate whereof 10000 for the Mandereens, and the rest for imployment." This document also states that the merchants had only two attendants "for more the Mandereene would not Consent should goe." These were Simon Grey and Charles Webb.

head with the Corner of a shovell[1] which broke his skulle aboutt 20 Daies since, not much complayning of it till of late, and then to late, For Notwithstanding the skill and Dilligence of all the Surgeons in the Fleete by applying the trapana (an Iron instrumentt to cutt outt a peece of a Mans Scull), with all other remedies they could; yett he Died. The 3d, a Jersey Man, who going to give a rope to the skiffe, holding with one hand on the gallery, a peece of it gave way, Soe thatt hee fell into the sea, suncke Downe right, rose noe More and perished, it beeing impossible to releive him.

Lettres from our Merchantts att Cantan.

The 28th [*August* 1637]. A lettre came From our principalls att Cantan, signiffying of their saffe arrivall with health, And how they were introduced into the Citty in the habitt of Chinois, butt as yett nott a word of trade.

Account of the reception of the merchants at Canton (*Continuation of the China Voyage, Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.).

24th August 1637. Mr Nathaniel Mounteney, John Mounteney and Thomas Robinson, with a quantitie of Rialls, Cloth, etts. Presents, passed upp the river, and after 2 dayes were (late in the Eveninge) in China habitts conveyed, togeather with their goods and Servants, into the suburbs of the Citty, and lodged in a verry Convenient howse[2], off all which they advized downe to the Shipps the next day. And then, out of hand, haveinge first paid 10 thowsand Rialls of 8, agreed upon for Custome and Duties, they began to bargaine for Sugar, Ginger, Stuffs, etc. insomuch that in 5 daies they

[1] According to the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*op. cit.*), the wound was inflicted, "as was supposed, by one of his Consortes."

[2] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that the merchants were conveyed into the city in "Mandareens Clothes" by Noretti, who "brought them to a kinsmans howse of his, and there lodged them."

had procured the quantitie of 80 Tonne Suger, besides Ginger and other merchandize and provisions for the Shipps, and had given out monies accordinge to the use of the Cuntry for verry great parcells, with much encouragement[1].

But the malicious treachery and base designes of the Portugalls, who slept not in that interim, but by all means plotted their destruction, had soe prevailed with the covetuous nature of Hittow [*Hai-tao*] and some others, that a private plott of Mischeife against ours was soe secretly contryved that they wist not therof till they were fallen into the snare. Itt is true that some did really suspect it and expressed it to Captain Weddell, but they being the parties bound to that sacrifice, were constrayned both to silence and sufferance, least either the voyadge might be pretended to be damnified by their neglect, as was threatned to be protested against them, or they taxed of tymourousness iff not of trecherie. And this only because they demaunded securitie for their Persons which might then have easily been obtayned.

Leave Craved to come farther uppe with our shippes : Not graunted.

The 29th of August [1637]. My selfe and one More were sent to the Mandareene off the Fleete of Junckes to Crave leave to come farther uppe with our shippes For our More security. Butt our answear was, hee was a Servaunt and could nott of himselffe Doe any thing in thatt kind For his head[2]. Soe wee retourned with thatt answear and exceeding Fowle weather, the Junckes beeing gotte into a Creeke with each 4 or 5

[1] Weddell adds, " They had silke stuffes of all sorts, raw silke, muske, gold Chaines, &ca. brought to their Lodginge, as all other sortes of goods," but the letter of 19th December 1637 (*Courteen Papers*, Appendix D) adds that they were kept closely to the house, were not even allowed to look " out of our doores," were only permitted to see samples of goods and had no opportunity of inspecting them in the bulk or supervising the weighing of them.

[2] If it were to save his head.

quillicks[1] (instead of Anchors) ahead, their cables of rattanes, expecting a Hurracane, by them called Tuffaon [typhoon], it beeing a violent stresse of winde happning some yeares.

Wee come farther uppe to Tayffoo.

The 30th [*August* 1637]. Notwithstanding such answear, Wee wayed From Fumaone and Came under a Cloven hill on a small Iland called Tayffoo[2], aboutt 2 mile farther uppe, where wee rode under the said hill in a very comodious harbour close to the shoare, the water by the shippes side good, Fresh and Sweete, it beeing of the River of Cantan.

A fine towne built of oyster shells.

[31*st August* 1637]. The last currantt wee went to seeke some provision, a Matter of 2 or 3 leagues higher towards the Rivers Mouth, att a towne called Muncoo[3], where wee gotte butt little. All the houses here which wee saw, and those not a few, were built off Oyster sheils, which beeing aboutt a Foot long and the buildings uniforme, the[y] shewed very handsome. They are laid thwart, one length serving For the breadth or thicknesse of the walle[4].

Odde Kindes of Fishing.

Here on the Dry oaze (of which there is very Much among these Ilands) they used 2 or 3 kindes of Fishing not ordinary. One was, a Man or boy on a board off 3 or 4 Foote long and 1 broade, with a baskett or tubbe

[1] Killicks. See *ante*, note on p. 204.

[2] Tai-fu, Tiger Island, *lit.*, the great tiger. In Mundy's later allusions to this island, he confuses its name with its shape and calls it " Tayfoo or Cloven Island."

[3] " Muncoo " appears to represent the name of a village, probably situated near the Second Bar.

[4] See *ante*, p. 193.

with him, and sitting thereon with one of his legges thrusting on the oaze, would give himselffe greatt way, Making the said board to slide Forward, which caused a small kind of Fish thatt lies on the oaze to skippe and leape, wherof some fall into his said tubbe; how otherwise I know not. Of these small leaping Fishes there are in all these hotte Countries, and may bee termed Sea grashoppers: allwaies Near the brincke of the water or on the oase[1].

Another way to catch the said Fish is with an angling rodde and a hooke att itt like a grapnell, with which they would lightly and Nimbly whiske or fling on the said oaze, and in some places where the said little Fish lay very thicke, hee would hither and catch some of them on his hooke. Both these waies wee saw, butt itt may bee the taking of the Fish may Differ in the Manner Described.

Advice from our Merchantts att Cantan to goe lower Downe: Not Followed.

The First of September [1637]. Came another lettre From our Merchantts att Cantan, where all[r]eady

[1] Most of the early European travellers to China, from Mendoza onwards, have full descriptions of fishing with cormorants (a method which evidently did not come under Mundy's observation), but no 17th century writer, so far as I know, alludes to the practice of catching fry in the Canton River, as narrated in the text. It is, however, noticed by Osbeck, who describes it (in 1751) with some variation:— "The Chinese here [at Whampoa] catch fish, by putting up mats along the shore, while the tide is in, which hinder the fry from returning with the ebb. As soon as the water has fallen, many people were seen wading up to the knees in the blue clayey ground mixed with sand, after the little fry, which jumped about in the mud like lizards; but when they saw no means of saving themselves, they crept a foot deep into the oozy ground, not without the knowledge of the Chinese, who took care to observe them, and pulled them out with their hands; these fish, fryed in oil, are the principal food of the poor, besides rice. . . ." (*Voyage to China*, I. 199—201).

By "Sea grasshoppers" Mundy means the walking or jumping fish (*Periophthalmus*), of which various species are found in great numbers on the mud flats at the mouths of rivers in the tropics. They are closely allied to the gobies (*Gobius*) with which Osbeck, *op. cit.*, confuses them. He gives their Chinese names as "Fay-ye" and "Tan-noao," *i.e.*, *fai-ye*, the jumpers and *tan-nau*, the mud fussers.

newes was carried of our Comming uppe to Tayffoo, Desiring us to returne againe to our old roade of Fumaone For awhile, advising allsoe thatt they beegan to Make investmentt, having allready boughtt 2U000[1] peeces [loaves] of sugar to come Downe the next Day. Notwithstanding their advice to goe lower Downe, yett wee lay still.

Some lading sent aboard and provision.

The 5th currant [*September* 1637]. Came Mr Robinson and Nurettè From Cantan, and the Next Day came much sugar For lading[2] and provisione For the shoppes [? shippes], among the rest the Chineses broughtt to sell peares, Chestnutts, Dried leecheeas as sweete as any Raysins of the Sunne[3]; they allsoe Make of them indifferent good Wyne.

The Citty of Macao send a protest unto us: Slighted, and accordingly answered.

The 6th September [1637]. Came 3 China skilling [sculling] Junckes with many Portugalls and Mestizoes [half-breeds]. They came From Macao and broughtt a protest From the Generall and Councell of thatt Citty, Declaring therin thatt excepte wee would Depart the Coast they would complaine to both our Kings and require satisfaction For all Dammages allready receaved

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[1] For a note on this sign for thousand, see *ante*, p. 140.

[2] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.), we learn that Robinson brought "2 Joncks laden with suger, &c." and an order from Mountney "for the bringinge upp of 6 chests of Rialls of 8." Weddell (*O.C.* 1662) adds that they brought "70 tonnes of goods," also that Noretti "promised to lode us all within a moneth after his Comeing downe . . . so that our businesse went verie fairelie forward, and wee had about 20 China Carpenters Came from Cantan to make Chestes to pack up sugar and sugar Candie, which Cost 1½d. per pound and as white as snowe."

[3] See *ante*, p. 162 for Mundy's previous reference to this fruit, and for additional descriptions, see Semedo, p. 5; Le Comte, p. 96; Du Halde, I. 16, 155.

and thatt hereafter Might bee occasioned through our Comming. The said protest was forthwith answeared in a slighting Manner, referring them to our better leisure to give them a larger Manifestation of the Just cause and reason of our Comming and abiding. With this answear they Departed. They came very well provided with Portugalls Mestizoes and slaves armed, butt to whatt purpose wee knew nott, they alleadging they came soe For their Deffence. There beeing Many outlawes and searobbers among all those Ilands and Creekes[1].

[The Protest from Macao.]

7th September 1637 [N.S. = 28th August O.S.].

(*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, Vol. IV.).

Most Illustrious Sirs, Commander and Factor of the English Fleet.

Your happy arrival at this port on the 7th of July [27th June O.S.] of this year 1637, we welcomed in accordance with the peace and friendship which to-day reigns between the most powerful King of England and his Catholic Majesty King Philip, our Lord, whom God preserve for many years. It is true that this joy was not perfect, as it was not within our power to welcome, treat and serve your Worships, either as our friends whom we greatly esteem, or as vassals of so powerful a King deserve, for we are not in a land which belongs to our King, nor in a city won in a just war, but in one which we hold through the good will of the King of England, I should say China, and we are necessarily dependent on him, not only in weighty matters, but in the most trifling details of our ordinary government, daily maintenance, and the trade by which we live.

[1] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* says that the junks arrived "under colour of bringinge a Protest against us for forceinge a trade in that river . . . but the Chief cause of their Comeinge (as soone after was manifest) was to awaite the issue of their most treacherous stratagem, which they had privately, by the Connivance of Hittow [*Hai-tao*], contrived against us."

For which reason your Worships being sighted off this port, the Captain-General of this city sent directions for you to anchor outside and await definite orders. And the following day he sent to welcome you, and to learn what you desired from this land, and what designs brought you to Macau ; and your Worships declared that you came to trade with us and to enter this port; whereupon both by persons of standing in this city and by letters, we made reply, declaring that this was a thing that we could not do, nor could we consent to it for many reasons, because we are in a land belonging to the King of China, a people very jealous of their lands, and any trade that we might have with you would cost us many vexations and annoyance with the great Mandarins, and loss of property ; and that although the ship *London* came with a Portuguese factor and merchants and anchored at a great distance from this City, nevertheless she brought great trouble and loss upon this city ; how much more so your Worships who came without order from our King or from the Lord Viceroy of India.

But although we foresaw these evils, yet we gave order with all good will, that your Worships should be supplied with everything you asked for, both provisions and equipment for your vessels as far as was possible to us. And in spite of all the reasons we brought forward and the many we gave your Worships verbally, you paid no heed to them, but sent your pinnace to the river of Canton to speak with the Mandarins, a course which fills us with amazement, for it is likely to cost us much unpleasantness with these natives. And later your Worships proceeded to the mouth of the river of Canton with all your four ships, endeavouring to do commerce there, greatly to our prejudice, it being the only port on which we depend for our livelihood. For which reason the Mandarins are much disturbed and anxious, seeing your ships where our vessels have never reached, and they send us many orders that we do command your Worships to quit (?) their kingdom, compelling us to make your Worships put out to the open

sea, and deliver their ports from you. And that which your Worships have done at present is to the Chinese one of the worst crimes, and it will all fall on us, as time will show; and it is certain that did your Worships understand what you have done, we believe you would never have done it; since what your Worships are doing is accumulating great crimes to this City, and giving out that we are the cause of your stay, they [the Mandarins] send express orders to us to make your Worships leave the port where you are.

All this being taken into consideration, and that which has been set forth by persons of standing in this land, which is not here set down to avoid tediousness, and which will be stated in good time, we have great cause of complaint from the fact of your Worships having sent your pinnace, and having later gone with your four ships to the River of Canton to endeavour to trade with the Chinese and Mandarins, the only advantage being to dispose of the goods you carry, and thereby disturb our commerce which for more than ninety years we have maintained[1] by the experience which time has brought to us. We beg you earnestly to deliver us from the trouble you have brought upon us, and if you will not do so on the plea of friendship, in order that justice may not be impeded, we make your Worships the following protest and requisition.

Domingos da Camara de Noronha, Commander-in-Chief of this fort of Macau for his Majesty, and the members of the Council of this City request your Worship, once and many times, in such terms of law and justice as we may and should employ, in the name of the most powerful King of England whose subjects you are, and in the name of his Catholic Majesty King Philip IV of Spain, our Master, whose subjects we are, to depart from this port where you are anchored, and no longer be to us cause of the evils abovementioned, and those which we have reason to fear from the Chinese.

[1] The first Portuguese expedition to China was sent from Malacca under Alvares in 1515, and in 1517 a Portuguese fleet arrived at St John's Island.

Reminding your Worships that when the King, your Master, made peace with our King it was not intended to prejudice the Portuguese nation in any part of the world, but rather to bring help, favour preservation and much good to us, as may be assumed to be his royal mind, as it was also the intention of the King, our Lord, which is clear and manifest. Which end has not been attained for the Portuguese in this city on this present occasion, for the reasons above-mentioned, of which we will give proof at a future date to their Majesties the King of England and the King of Spain, that it may be seen that it was not through fault of ours that your Worships were not admitted to this City, we being distressed thereby, and being the cause of annoyance between our Kings. We hope therefore that your Worships will accede to our friendly request, and with all justice we ask you to put to sea with your ships, as your presence is a great prejudice to this City and its inhabitants, as we have manifested; and we forbear to make requisition in more solemn and precise terms of law, but we desire that it should have the same value and weight as though it were so expressed in every detail we have set down, whether in legal terms or not. And should your Worships not comply, we demand by your noble persons that you make report to their Majesties the Kings of England and Spain of the losses, damage and annoyance we have suffered from the Mandarins and Governors of China through your presence in this port, and from the journey you made to the mouth of the River of Canton. And if it should be necessary to make further requisition and protest to your Worships upon this matter, we hold that it is here done, expressed and declared, with all details, clauses and conditions by law required, further protesting in the name of our Lord, the King of Spain, that our not receiving your Worships in this port for the reasons above declared shall not prejudice his royal position respecting the continuation or rupture of the peace which he so willingly concluded with his Majesty the King of England.

Given in this City of the Name of God in China, commonly known as Macau, on the 7th of September 1637, over our signatures only

Domingos da Camara	Luiz Pais Pacheco
Antonio da Silveira Aranha	Domingos Dias Espinhel
Estevan Pires	Matheu Ferreira de Proença
Francisco de Aranjo Darros	

[Certified by Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo, notary, to be a correct copy from the original.]

[The "Slighting Answer"] (*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV.)

6th September 1637 [O.S.]. Having received your offensive letters, accompanied by a formal but unimportant protest, we were much astonished to find that you consider us so despicable and of no importance, since you appear to think that your letters, full of groundless threats, will induce us to abandon an undertaking so profitable and so certain. For which, though we pay no heed to your threats, we shall fight your people with blood and sweat to the end. This land, as you yourself acknowledge, is not yours, but the King of China's. Why then should we wait for license from the King of Castile or his petty Viceroys in these parts?

We have no leisure at present, because of other occupations, to answer your vulgar letters more at length[1]. I hope to have some time later, although we fear that the reply will be as opportune as your proposal, which is certainly not at all while we are occupied in matters of greater importance.

We greet you all. From our ships in the port of Canton, 6th September 1637 English style.

John Wed[d]ell.

Agrees with the original.

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

[Marginal note] Was not sent to the Kingdom.

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[1] For a full reply to the Protest of the 28th August, see the letter of the 27th September, *infra*, pp. 242—245.

Nurette entrusted with 6 Chistts Royal eightt.

The 7th September [1637]. Our Mandareene returned to Cantan, there beeing 6 Chists of Ryall of eightt entrusted unto him, which hee carried away in his owne boate with other goodes. Butt before his Departure hee perswaded to sende uppe all the Treasure they could and allmost all commodities vendible here.

The 8th ditto [*September* 1637]. Mr Robinson Departed allsoe in the great vessell that broughtt Downe the Sugar[1]. Hee carried with him Much incense and all the Puchuc[2] in the Fleete. There was sentt with him when hee went last 14 Chists of Ryall of eightt conteyning each 2U000 Ryall [of] eight. There came Downe in the said vessell aboutt 1U000 quintalls[3] of Sugar att Royal 3 per quintall and uppon 50 quintalls off Greene ginger att aboutt 7 Ryall per quintall.

Treachery intended and prosecuted against us.

Sonday the 10th of September [1637]. It pleased god to Deliver us From a treacherous and Daungerous plotte intended against us and putt in execution to have Destroyed us all by Fire (when wee least Mistrusted

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[1] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) we learn that Robinson was accompanied by one of Nathaniel Mountney's servants and a sailor (Simon Grey), and that when they arrived "within 4 leagues of the Citty, he was, by the commaund of Hittow and some others of the Portugalls bribed frends, with his 2 companions and all the Incense, thrust abourd a Joncke of the Kings, the money, cloth, and all other fyne goods being Carryed upp to the towne and delivered into the hands of the cheife Manderyns."

[2] Putchuck, putchock (Dakhani Hindustani, *pachak*), is still a Far Eastern trade term for *Costus* root, used for medicine and incense. The Cantonese word is *muk-heung*, wooden fragrance. "Putchuck or Costus Dulcis should have a Violet Smell, be large and bright" (Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 130). "Costus Dulcis. Take the fairest heavy Roots, of a grey Colour without, and redish within, of a fine strong Smell and arromatic Taste" (Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, p. 138).

[3] See *ante*, note [7] on p. 65.

[suspected] and thoughtt our selves Most secure and happy off our good hopes and beegining off trade). The Manner was thus, as my selffe saw For the Most parte ; the rest by relation of the generallity.

The Manner of it : Five greatt Juncks with fire worcks sentt to Destroy us.

Aboutt 2 of the Clocke in the Morning, The shippes beeing New [lately careened], went with the tide of Ebbe. The little *Anne* riding headmost, shee espied certaine great Juncks under saile standing thwart their hause[1]. They hailed them, had no answear, were in doubtt to shoote [at] them thincking they might have bin vessells laden For our Fleete, Soe lett them passe. It seemes The Junckes espying the *Anne* to bee butt a smalle vessell, steared to come Foule of the *Catherine*, who no sooner espied them butt shotte att them, giving therby warning to the rest of our Fleete. Att thatt very instant were 2 of the said Junckes all in Flaming Fire Chained on to the other, and a little after thatt another, all 3 Driving thwart our hauses, allthough butt slowly, it beeing butt yong Ebbe, as before is said. Itt beeing Not now tyme to looke on, The *Dragon* shee cutt both her Cables ; others cutt allsoe ; others lett slippe ; and soe wee all stood uppon our sailes (a sea phrase as much to say as under saile) to avoid the Daunger. Itt was gods will thatt whatt with their standing off to the *Catherine*, whatt with the tide off ebbe thatt sett off the pointe and whatt with a little gale off winde that blew off the shoare (and some helpe [from] our boates), they all Drave withoutt [past] us. The Fire was vehementt. Balles of wylde fire[2], Rocketts and Fire-

[1] Across the bows.

[2] Greek (or wild) fire, a combustible composition for setting fire to an enemy's ships, works, etc., so called from being first used by the Greeks of Constantinople.

arrowes Flew thicke as they passed by us, Butt God bee praised, not one of us all was toutched.

One of the Junkes Drave on the other shoar right thwart of us ; the other 2 with the streame were carried about the point of the Iland and soe outt of sightt. Another of these Junckes, it seemes, fired accidentally before shee came Near and Drave ashoare 2 or 3 Miles ahead off us and was there Consumed. Allthough these were paste, yett wee Feared and expected More, untill Daylightt. Great and sodaine was the amazement and affrightt att such a tyme of the Nightt (it beeing a Darke moone) to see such a Fearffull Daunger redy to Destroy us. The Fire was very high and violentt and the brightness therof soe great in that Darcke nightt thatt the hills reflected lightt. The Confuzed Noise was Noe lesse, as well of the Marriners on the one side crying and calling to their Fellowes aboutt the shippes, worcking with their heedlesse hasty runinge on the Deckes, as allsoe of the Crackling of the burnt Bamboes, whizzing of the rocketts etts., Fireworckes Frome the Fiered Flaming Junckes ; the latter of the two, allthough not soe loud, yett More Fearffull and the occasion off the other. All this lasted First and last aboutt 2 houres. By thatt tyme the Junckes were consumed and wee through Gods providence Freed From thatt great daunger and quieted, For which his holy Name bee praised. Now beegan wee to Mistrust the Dealing of Nurrette and to Fear the saffety off our Merchantts att Cantan.

A Chinois, one of the Juncke conducteurs taken, alive.

The 10th September [1637]. Day beeing come, some were sent to round the [Tiger] Iland to see if wee could take any of the Chinois thatt conducted the Fire Juncks, conceaving they Mightt have swamme ashoare there,

For after their Firing, by their owne lightt Many were seene to leape overboard into the water. Only one man they tooke swymming, who by Diving thoughtt neverthelesse to escape, till att length they pitched a pike into him and brought him uppe on the point thereof. Hee had 7 or 8 greatt wounds in his backe, belly, armes, etts., and one quite through the Middle of the body. By relation of the Surgeons, something hee said, butt For wantt of an interpreter could not bee understood. All the rest gotte ashoare by swymming, allthough they had boates to attend them, butt the Force of the Fire, with the Daunger and sodainenesse of the action, gave them not leisure to make use of them.

A Fifft fire Juncke found aground on the backside of the Iland: How Fitted.

Wee Found nobody on the [Tiger] Iland butt our owne selves, butt on the backside there was come aground one of the said greatt Fire Juncks untoutched. Yett Aboard they went and Found her extraordinarily well Fitted and prepared to Doe Mischeiffe (beeing driven ashoare and Forsaken). No question butt all the rest were suteable. This beeing full off Dry wood, sticks, heath, hey, etts., thicke interlaid with long smalle bagges of gunpowder and other combustible stuffe, allsoe Cases and Chists of Fire-arrowes Dispersed here and there in aboundance, beeing soe laid thatt they Mightt strike into shoppes [? shippes], hulles, Masts, sailes, etts., and to hang on shroudes, tackling, etts., having fastned to them smalle peeces of crooked wire to hitche and hang on any thing they should meet withall. Moreover, sundry boomes on each side with 2 or 3 grapenells att each with Iron Chaines; others allsoe thatt hung Downe in the water to catch hold of Cables, etts. ground takle, soe thatt if they had butt come to toutch a shippe, it were

allmost impossible butt they would catch and hold Fast.

Fired by us.

Having taken away her grapnells and Chaines aforesaid, they sett fire of her, which burnt awhile soe furiously that it consumed the grasse on the side of the hill as farre as a man could Fling a stone ; soe thatt had they come within as they came withoutt us, they had endaungered us and att least Driven us outt. Butt god bee thancked they Missed their purpose.

On this passage allsoe I Doe somwhatt enlarge, beecause it is the first fire Daunger that I ever yett have seene my selff in.

One of our boates beeing on the other side of the Iland was pursued by 3 or 4 smalle Junckes full off Men. Among the rest our people said they saw a Portugall who weaved his sword and hatt att them. Itt is presuposed thatt they Joine with the Chinois and have instigated them against us not to permitt us to trade For reasons aforementioned. God knoweth.

Other accounts of the attempt to destroy the English fleet.

(a) Weddell's Account (*O.C.* 1662).

In the Interim the Portingalls had wrought with the Mandereene of Casa Blanca[1] to Joyne with the 2 other pettie Mandereens to procure 7 fire Junkes to putt upon us in the darke of the nighte whilest wee were busie in shiftinge the *Sunne*, which they putt in execution the night after that. The Portingalls had brought us a protest from the Generall &ca. of Macao, to which wee gave a slight Answere and dispeeded them away[2], wee beinge nowe some 3 leagues paste the Castle where wee intended to lode.

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[1] Casa Branca, a suburb of Macao, where the Mandarin who presided over affairs connected with Chinese subjects had his residence.

[2] See *ante*, p. 226.

The 10th September, about 3 in the morninge they Came in upon us with 5 fier Junkes, and wee haveinge a good watch, espied them and fired a peece of ordinance which, as soone as they sawe they were discovered, they fired their trayne and lefte them. Our boates towed them Cleer of us, and soe by Gods assistance we escaped that damage. The 4th Junke was a verie greate one and well provided for that stratagem, but it pleased God shee Could not weather the [Tiger] Iland, and in the morninge was found a ground. Wee manned our boates and sent them at both endes of the land and went aboard and broughte away many Cheynes, grapnells, fire arrowes and other materialls, and sett her on fire; and thus were 4 of the 7 Junkes Consumed.

The newes went flyeinge up to Cantan the next day that the English shippes were burnte, and such newes was Caried to Mr Nathaniell Mountney and his brother (Mr Robinson and Simon Grey being stopped in the midway to Cantan and their Junke Seized on, beinge the same which Came downe with the goods). Upon this newes they were much amazed, but when the truth was knowne that the damadge fell on the Chinas side, the Chineses beganne to excuse themselves and said it was the Portingalls worke and not theirs. But we had taken up a Chincho [Fuhkienese] who was swiminge to the shoare (he haveinge fired the first Junke) by our boates, whoe with halfe pikes had pearced through his armes and thighes, and was brought aboard halfe dead. Our Chirurgions Cured his wounds (he beinge kept in Irons), whoe told us whoe had sett him on worke. Moreover, hee said there was 3 more readie and 100 small fisher boates to second them if they missed.

(b) Account from the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.).

Seven Jonckes with fire, being provided att the cost and Fittinge of the treacherous Portugalls, and

extraordinaryly furnished [with] chaynes, hookes, grapnailes, &c., about 2 in the morninge came drivinge towards the Shipps, but beinge in good tyme discovered, were by much industry and with noe less difficulty put by their attempte, and in sight of their Consorts burnte downe to the water, fowre of them being fired by our people and the rest by themselves. Some of the men beinge taken and detayned in our Shipps, did afterwards att Maccaw avouch to the faces of divers Portugalls comeinge abourd, that they were the verry men that had done this; and had hyred the Chinesses and certaine fugitive Cafres [*kāfir*, negro slave] and others, to bringe on these fyer Vessells, whilest they in the meane tyme awaited att hand to murther and destroy our people iff they should be forced to take to the water; and this inserted by Captain Weddell and his Councell into their Protest, which att their arrivall att Maccow delivered over to the Captain and Gennerall of the Citty[1].

Tayffoo.

This Iland of Tayffoo [Tiger Island] or cloven hill is aboutt 51 Miles From enseada De Don Juan [Taipa Anchorage] Lying N [blank] From itt, lying in 23 degrees 5 Minutes North latitude and 7 degrees 15 Minutes East longitude From Pulo Tymaone[2] afore-spoken offe.

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[1] From the three accounts of this incident, one gathers that the Chinese took advantage of the tide turning at about 2 a.m. on a dark night to try and burn the anchored British fleet at the turn of the tide by means of fire-ships, hoping to catch them while they were swinging athwart the river. But the fleet escaped by cutting their cables, hoisting sail and sending out boats to tow the fire-ships out of their course.

For a further short account of this incident, see the letter of the 19th December 1637 (*Courteen Papers*, Appendix D).

[2] See *ante*, p. 151 for Pulo Tioman. Mundy has underestimated the distance. Tiger Island is nearly 9° east of Pulo Tioman.

Calculation of miles gon and sailed this present voyage outtward bound only: which I accomptt From Penrin in Cornewall unto Cloven [Tiger] Iland or Tayfoo in the Kingdome of China, beeing the Farthest extent and uttermost lymmitt of the said voyage, *viz.*

	Miles.
From Penrin in Cornewall to London Anno 1635 is accompted	220
From London to the Downes by water Aprill 1636 is accompted	90
From the 14th Ditto to the end of the Month our shippe ran	1770
In the whole Month of May wee sayled	1678
In the Month of June wee ran	1879
In the Month of July wee went	3177
In the Month of August wee have gon	2159
In the Month of September shee made	2573
From the First to the 8th October when wee arrived att Goa	309
From the 17th Jan: when wee parted Goa till our arrivall at Battacala [Bhatkal] beeing the 24th Ditto	114
From the 19th Marche 1636, when wee sett saile from Battacala unto the end of the said Month Anno 1637	270
From the first of Aprill till our arrivall att Achein the 22th Ditto	1007
In the whole Month of May our shippe ran	565
From the First to the last of June arriving att enseada de Don Juan [Taipa Anchorage]	1419
From thence to Cloven [Tiger] Iland where wee arrived the 30th off August	51
In all wee have gon outtward bound the some of Miles	17,281

End of the 25th Relation.

RELATION XXVI.

FROM THE TYME OF OUR DEPARTURE TAYFOO UNTILL OUR ARRIVALL ATT MACAO AGAINE IN CHINA, AND WHATT TRAFFIQUE WEE OBTAINED THERE OF THE PORTUGALLS AT LAST, ETTS. PASSAGES IN THE INTERIM, *VIZ*[1].

Our Departure Tayffoo and arrivall att Fumaone againe.

The 11th September Anno 1637. In regard more fireshippes were expected and thatt our Riding here was soe Distastfull to the Chinois and soe full of Daunger to our selves, Therefore to give content unto the First and to Free ourselves From the latter, As allsoe our Merchantts and companies estate Deteyned att Cantan[2], wee quitted the place and came againe downe unto our old rode of Fumaone a little beneath the Fort[3].

2 skulling Junckes taken : Restored againe untoutched.

The 12th [*September* 1637]. With our boates wee tooke 2 men of warre Junckes, suspecting there had

[1] The full headline to this *Relation* in the MS. is, "China voiage Homeward bound From Taifoo backe unto Macao in China."

[2] For the experiences of Nathaniel and John Mountney and Thomas Robinson at the hands of the Chinese, see their journal, which is given after Mundy's diary of the 28th November.

[3] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that on receipt of the news of a proposed second attack by fire-ships, "wee gott aboard such Caske and other things as wee had on shoare, and went belowe the Castle into our olde birth where there was more roome."

bin Portugalls aboard, butt all the people gotte ashoare, and wee broughtt away the vessells, beeing scullers.

The 13th [*September* 1637]. Wee restored the said Junckes againe unto the Mandareenes untoutched, the better to gett our Merchantts Freed From aloft, who Now wee beegan to feare wear in some trouble, having Not heard From them these 8 Daies.

Reports of future Daungers plotting against us by Fire, Warre, poysoning, etts.

By Francisco, a Portugall slave, run from them to the Chinois and From them againe unto our handes, wee understood, according to his owne relation (the truth wee know nott, butt as hee said was the generall report of all sorts of people both aboard their Fleete as allsoe on shoare), *viz.* Thatt there were 15 Portugalls att Cantan Negotiating against us and thatt all our Disturbances was wroughtt by their procurementt, who offer large summes and New Customs on all goodes [that] should come unto Macao From India, Mannilla, Japan or any place elce unto the Chinois to Debarre us from trade. Thatt there were 7 monstrous Junckes and aboutt 100 smalle boates preparing, to bee better fitted and enordred then the former, to fire us, Only new wanting Chaines and grapnells, which were making. Allsoe thatt a fleete of Chincheos were expected to come, a resolute Desperate people of one of the China Provinces [Fuhkien], with great shippes, Ordnaunce, etts., to bee furnished with powder, munition, etts. From the Portugalls, as were the Fireshippes aforesaid. Thatt wee should take head of any thing thatt should bee broughtt to eate or Drincke From the shoare, as bread, Racke [*'arak*, spirits], Fruite, etts., For it would come poisoned. That all the Mandereenes were combyned

against us, *viz.*, of Lantáo, Casabranca[1] by Macao, etts. This hee said was vulgar voice, as aforementioned.

The 14th [*September* 1637]. Wee came a league or two lower Downe, The Easter[l]y Monsoone beeing come, the windes having blowne beetweene the North and the East these 4 or 5 Daies somwhatt sharpe in the Morninges.

Our Resolution for Macao.

The 17th Ditto. It was generally Concluded to Depart unto Macao, there to deliver a protest to the Portugalls and require satisfaction For the losse off our voyage, allsoe our Merchantts From Cantan and our Companies Meanes there Deteyned, knowing all to bee Don by their procurement and instigation.

A[l]tred and another determined offe.

The 18th [*September* 1637]. Thatt resolution alltred. And then our best course was held to Doe all the spoile wee could unto the Chinois, thatt complaint Mightt come to the higher powers, and thatt they mightt understand the reason of it as beeing For the Detention off our Merchantts and companies estate in their hands.

Putt in execution. Five Junckes and a small towne burned: pillage taken.

Soe thatt evening late some of our boates well manned and provided were sentt away; and before Day they burned 5 smalle Junckes, wherof 2 were fitted with Fireworcks to have Don the like to us. They allsoe sett Fire of a smalle towne, tooke one man and aboutt 30 hogges and pigges, and soe came away.

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[1] By Lantao, Mundy means Wantong Forts and not the island of Lantau in the estuary of the Canton River. See *ante*, note on p. 177. Casa Branca is the Portuguese name for the city of Ch'ien-shan on the north of the inner harbour of Macao. It was the residence of the Mandarin who decided disputes between the Portuguese and Chinese. See *ante*, p. 165.

Weddell's account of the above incident (*O.C.* 1662).

> Noe man Cominge neere unto us to tell us what was become of our merchants and money, soe that wee resolved to gett them by force or to loose all our lives, and fitted our longe boats with a Drake in each boates head and our skiffes and bardge all well manned, and at 5 in the morninge the 19th September, wee sett upon 16 saile of the Kinges man of warr and fought with them ½ howre, in which tyme wee burned 5 of them (3 of them were fire Junkes); the rest made their escape. The same day our boates tooke the towne of Famon[1] which they pillad[g]ed and burnte, and by the [blank] was fired another Junke, and returned aboarde without anie damadge on our side.

The 20th [*September* 1637]. Wee sent ashoare to know of the Country people whither they could tell us any Newes of our Merchantts. They told us that 2 Mandareenes were gon For them and would bee here againe within 2 Daies.

A lettre received from our Merchantts advising of their restraint etts.

The 21th [*September* 1637]. Wee receaved a lettre From Mr Nathaniell and Mr John Mountney, wherein they advised they were kept in straightt and feared Dayly to have their persons seized, having Not heard from Mr Robbinson, Nor of the treasure last sentt uppe, Neither of whatt themselves had broughtt uppe.

Their Councell how to remedy itt: held Difficult and therefore not Followed.

Therefore their opinion was thatt the best course For their better usage would bee to come quietly with our shippes Farther uppe into the River withoutte giving

[1] See *ante*, note [3] on p. 187.

cause of complaint, rather Fearing [frightening] then hurting them[1]. This councell was held Difficultt and Daungerous to bee Followed, soe kept our former resolution.

Wee prosecute our First purpose: A skirmish with the Chinois, 5 or 6 of them slaine.

Thereuppon they manned 6 or 7 of our boates, went ashoare to the village Fumaone, skirmished with the people and off them killed 5 or 6; the rest, beeing a greatt Number, ran away, having firste conveyed their goodes elcewhere. Nor would the houses take fire, beeing off bricke and stone, covered with tiles. From thence they went to the [Anung-hoi] Fort. Finding Neither men nor Munition therein, they threw Downe the gates and came aboard. There was in all this on our side only one Scot[c]hman hurt.

A greatt Juncke Fired and 8 prisoners taken. Another great Juncke pursued butt got away.

The 22th September [1637]. Our boates were sent to the Creekes etts. passages Near Tayffoo or Cloven Iland. There they burned one great Juncke, saving outt of her 8 persons whome they broughtt aboard; the rest gotte away. They then allsoe pursued another greatt Juncke, came very Neare, shott at her, thoughtt to have boarded her, butt were in such Manner kept offe by their continuall heavinge offe greatt stones, billetts, barres off Iron, etts., thatt shee gotte away. Then allsoe they fired a forsaken towne. In all this

[1] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662) that complaints had been carried to Canton by the fugitives from Fumaon and the neighbourhood, and that "at last license was given to our merchants to write to us, whoe desired us to forbeare to use anie more acts of hostility and all would be well. Divers boats and Junkes would Come and sell us sugar at easie rates; by [? but] they came by stealth."

no greatt Daunger, there beeing butt little resistance and No pillage off any purpose[1].

The [Anunghoi] Fort blowne upp with gunpowder.

The said Day the Commaunders went on shoare, undermined the Fort and with 3 barrelles of gunpowder blew uppe much off the wall, Crackt, shooke and Defaced all the rest, especially inwards.

Lettres from the Mandareens to stay yett 10 Daies.

The 24th [*September* 1637]. There came a lettre from the Mandareenes, wherin they Desired us to stay yett 10 Daies, and then wee should have our requiry. This wee conceaved to bee Falce and only Devised to gaine More tyme to putt theire intentts in practice.

A Juncke pursued, defends her selffe and putts our boates offe. One of our Men slayne by the Chinois.

The 25tt [*September* 1637]. Wee sent to take a great Juncke thatt passed somwhatt Near us, butt shee Defended herselffe and endaungered both our Men and boates by Flinguing greatt heavy broad-headed Iron Darts among them, Made rather to spoile smalle boates then Men, lying under their high and smooth built sides, and therefore (as I have said) these kind are with much Difficulty to bee boarded. There beeing butt our barge and the *Sunnes* skiffe, The *Anne* was sent to assist them, butt shee could not come Near them. Soe att length the boates, For want off gunpowder, came off, and alltogether returned. One of the *Sunnes* Men was by them shotte within [with] an Arcabuza-Croc [harquebus à croc] that hee shortly after Died off itt[2].

[1] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) we learn that the first junk burned was one "of the Kings, of 12 peeces of Ordnance."

[2] This was Christopher Barker, quartermaster. His name is given in the *Continuation of the China Voyage*.

This evening wee tooke a poore boate. They were Chincheos, and note long since taken by their owne Nation, who tooke From them their owne vessell and putt them into thatt. Shee and hers were released againe.

Black Antonio his opinion.

Blacke Anthonio, an eathiopian thatt had gon formerly interpreter beetweene us[1], was now contented to stay with us. Hee told us That hee thoughtt Thatt the Mandareenes Demaunding off us yett More 10 Daies respitt was to no other end then to Detyne [*sic*] us untill the arrivall off a Fleet of Chincheos, who as hee heard were Dayly expected; a Darcke Moone now allsoe att hand, the only tyme to putt in execution their Fire stratagems, wee lying somewhatt Daungerous For those occasiones.

Our falling lower.

The 26th September 1637. To prevent or avoid the aforesaid Daunger, with others thatt mightt bee intended against us, Wee fell Downe Farther and Anchored by Nanteea or Lanteea [Lintin Island], formerly Mentioned.[2]

A protest sentt against the Generall and Councell offe Macao.

The 27th of September [1637]. Wee came within 4 leagues of Macao and there anchored. From thence the barge[3] was sent with a protest against the Generall and Councell off thatt Citty, S[he]weing them therin

[1] See *ante*, p. 192.

[2] Weddell (*O.C.* 1662) gives additional reasons for returning to Macao. "The tyme of the yeare and winter Cominge on, wee resolved to goe for Macao and protest against the Governor and Councell for all such damadges as had befalne us, to soe birth our selves that they Could not come from Japan but they must of necessitie Come through us."

[3] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* we learn that the pinnace *Anne* accompanied the *Dragon's* barge which carried the protest.

the reason off our Comming in to these parts, As allsoe demaunding att their hands our Merchantts, Monies and Meanes deteined att Cantan, with the losse of our voyage, and thatt they had given Just occasion of a breach off peace beetweene our 2 Kings. Thus much wee laid to their Charge, as allsoe the last fire Juncks, Requiring restitution and satisfaction For all losses, Dammages, etts., which wee have allready susteyned or may hereafter accrew on these occasiones, they beeing the Cause offe alle, beesides the contempt off our Kings Majesties Freindly letter unto them. Soe having Delivered this protest, wee retourned aboard[1].

Copy of the Second Letter sent by the English[2], 27th September 1637 (O.S.) (*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV).

The following is a reply to the Protest dated in Macau the 7th of September 1637, Roman Style and received in Jaypo[3] on the 6th of the month Old Style.

Know your Worships that in past times there existed much discord between the Portuguese and English nations in the dominions of India, which was of profit to neither party, but rather your Worships suffered from an evil of which you were the cause, as it was not enough that you should close and forbid us your ports, but you also exerted every means to prevent us from holding commerce with other kingdoms. At last peace was sought for by you for two or three years, the procurers being Padres and persons of your own nation[4], and was concluded in the city of Goa in December 1634, by the Conde de Linhares your Viceroy and

[1] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* adds that "The same Eveninge a boate from the towne Came abourd with a message to the Comaunders of the Fleete, telling them that on the morrow they should have answeare."

[2] This document is in Spanish. For the first letter, see the "Slighting Answer" of 6th September, *ante*, p. 226.

[3] A copyist's error for Tayfo, Tai-fu, Tiger Island.

[4] Notably, Father Pablo Reimão. See *ante*, note [2] on p. 60.

the President of the English nation[1], being celebrated with very great rejoicing, pleasure and contentment, the articles being confirmed by both parties, by which was conceded to us the free entry and trade of your ports.

Your Worships asked for a quantity of stores, munition, etc., from our land, required by the galleons or fleet, which were granted, but not before special license had been obtained from our King, these being forbidden stores; upon the delivery of which you had promised us their value in cinnamon or pepper, the which we expected[2]. But time went on, delays being asked of a fortnight, on another occasion of ten days, on others more or less days, until three months went by and nothing was done, we being at last compelled to seek these stores in other places, leaving that place [Goa] and putting in at divers of your ports, where we were received with much consideration. But finally reaching Macau, where we expected greater favour, we received greater discourtesy (although we were bearers of a special letter from our King to the Captain-General), it being forbidden us to enter your City, excepting at first, this being due more to our own daring than to any desire on your part. Moreover, special guards were placed at the harbour to prevent anything being brought to us, with the exception of a few scanty provisions[3].

During the whole of our stay, both by letters and by speech in conference with persons of standing in the city, you held out to us the hope of open trade after the departure of the fleet of Japan, which we permitted to depart in peace. And when your Worships learnt that it was in safety, you sent a messenger to us to ask what further we required, as we had already received the reply and there was nothing further to wait for. We therefore departed from thence [Macao] and came to the mouth of the

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 160. Methwold did not reach Goa until the 6th January 1635, and it was on the 8th that the wording of the agreement between the English and Portuguese was settled.

[2] On arrival of the fleet at Goa.

[3] See *ante*, pp. 164, 170, 172, 173.

River of Canton, where we were expected and received with much courtesy, and trade was already opened, as your officials were witness when they came to bring us the protest, and saw your agent, Pablo Norete, acting as Mandarin, which he was not, but an imposter and your leader and agent in all the treachery that occurred.

A few days after his arrival five large fire ships came upon us, and we can bring sufficient and clear evidence that these were brought there by your Worships, at your expense, and captained and conducted by your ships up to the moment of starting the fire, and then were delivered over to the Chinese, whose vessels were ready and waiting to come up to the wrecks and ruins which would result. But God did not permit the plan to succeed, and the said ships returned a few days later to Macau.

Further, touching the detention of the King's merchants with all their cargoes. Your Worships, by your agent Francisco Carvalho Aranha, promised the Chinese large sums of money and fresh duties to do this and deprive us of all hope of trading in this land, and to encourage the Chincheos [Fuhkienese] to provide themselves with arms and munitions to come upon and totally destroy us. This have we discovered by the voluntary confessions of different persons who came to us on various occasions, and other clear evidence, such as Portuguese cloth which fell into our hands, together with what our men saw and heard your men speak of when they were going about in these parts.

All which, being as stated, we request your Worships to deliver up and return to us the said merchants who are detained in Canton on your account, with all their cargoes, and also to give compensation for the loss sustained in this voyage, of which your Worships are the authors. And thus we will depart in peace. And if not, we present the following protest to your Worships, which, as we have no lawyers here, is not couched in the formal terms it should be. Nevertheless let it have all the force of a perfectly worded document.

I, John Wed[d]ell, Commander of the English

Fleet dispatched by his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and the other Captains thereof, ask and call on your Worships, as in justice and reason we may and should do, in the name of his Catholic Majesty of Spain, your Master and in the name of the King of Great Britain, our Master, whose vassals we are, that your Worships make restoration and return and deliver to us our aforesaid merchants, and other servants detained in Canton, with all the treasure and merchandise they have with them, and further all the costs and damages which have resulted, and may in all probability result, in future from the loss of this voyage, knowing that all this has been the work of your Worships. And thus we may depart satisfied from here. But should our just and reasonable demands be refused, we declare that in presence of their Majesties the King of Spain and Great Britain we will demand from you all the foregoing, and further declare that your Worships are authors of all the prejudice and evils which may spring from the contempt of the letter and favour of a King and the rupture of the peace of which your Worships are guilty.

From on board the Flagship [the Dragon] on the 27th September 1637, *Old Style.*

JOHN WIDDELL
ARTHUR HATCH[1]
JNO. CARTER
R. LEO ONLEY [RICHARD SWANLEY]
PETER MENDES [MUNDY]

[Here follows an attestation of the correctness of " the protest presented to the English and their

[1] Arthur Hatch, who was born in 1593 and matriculated in 1611, had already spent several years in India and the East. In 1618 he entered the service of the East India Company as a Preacher and was abroad from 1619 to 1623. On his return he gave Purchas an account of Japan, which is printed in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. 1625, vol. II. pp. 1696, 1701—1702 and is entitled " A Letter touching Japon with the Government, Affaires and later Occurrents there, written to me by Master Arthur Hatch, Minister, lately returned thence." The account is dated " From Wingham in Kent the 25. of November 1623."

In 1626 Hatch again went to India and returned in the *William* in 1629. In 1632 he went out a third time as Preacher in the *Charles*,

answer thereto" signed by Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo and Affonso Garces. The attestation which is in Portuguese, is dated 9th December 1637 N.S.=30th November O.S.]

Bartholomeo de Roberedo etts. sent to answear the protest by word of mouth: Our Freindly letter unto the Citty.

The 29th ditto [*September* 1637]. Came a boate From Macao, and in her Bartholomeo de Roboredo, a Jesuitt thatt came with us From Mallacca[1], and a Spaniard, a Serjauntt Major[2] thatt came on the *Sonne*. These 2 came in the Name of the Citty to answear the protest sent unto them by word of Mouth[3], who Denied allmost every article of itt. Howsoever, necessity compelling us, a lettre was sent to them Desiring in Freindly Manner that they would procure the releasementt of our Merchantts. This course must have bin taken, or elce wee must resolve to leave their lives and liberties, with the Companies estate to the Desposure and Mercy of Heathen. This broughtt us to thatt which otherwise would nott have bin condiscended [agreed] unto, [*viz.*] J. W. [John Weddell]; A. J.[4]; P. M. [Peter Mundy].

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and lost all his property when that ship was burnt in Swally Road in the following year. He came home in 1635 as Preacher of the *Jonas* and then apparently joined Courteen's Association as Preacher of the *Dragon*. The latest mention discovered of him is in 1638, at Bhatkal, and it is probable that he perished when the *Dragon* was lost on her homeward voyage in 1639. See Foster's *Alumni; Cal. State Papers, E. I.*, 1618—1634; Foster, *English Factories*, 1630—1639.

[1] I have failed to find what position the Father held at Malacca. He was at Bantam in March 1637. See *Dagh Register*.

[2] Port. *Sargento mór*, the major of a regiment. In Mundy's time the major of a British regiment was called a "serjeant-major."

[3] That is, they came to answer verbally the written protest delivered on the 27th September, but they also brought a letter from Domingos da Camara (see *infra*).

[4] A. J. seems to be a slip for A. H., *i.e.*, Arthur Hatch, "the Minister," one of the signatories of the letter of the 27th September. The initials attached to the paragraph in the original are interesting, as nothing in the way of signatures to statements occurs elsewhere in the MS. I take it that they are not signatures at all, but are merely inserted to show why these particular persons signed the letter of 29th September 1637 sent to Macao, for which see below.

Copy of a Letter addressed by the Captain-General of Macau to the Commander of the English Fleet, 8th October 1637 [N.S. = 28th September O.S.], (*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV.).

We received your Excellency's letter and the protest which accompanied it, both dated the 7th of October New Style; and as all that your Worship states shows clearly that the information you have received against us is contrary to the truth, we have requested the Reverend Father Bartholomeo de Reboredo of the Society of Jesus, whom you brought from Malacca in your ships, and therefore your very good friend, to go and inform you in a friendly way of what really occurred, with which, if your Worship is satisfied, we shall much rejoice, and as friends we will overlook your complaints, and if not, we will reply to your protest in terms of justice and courtesy, such as we always employ in treating with your Worships, whose illustrious persons may God keep.

DOMINGOS DA CAMARA.

Macau, 8th October 1637.

Agrees with the original.

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

[The reply of Courteen's merchants to the above Letter] (*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV.).

29th September 1637.

Illustrious Sirs,

We received your Excellencies' letter in which you refer yourself in all things to the information given by the Reverend Father Bartholomeo de Reboredo and the Serjeant-Major. We have heard both, and they argued well in behalf of your Excellencies. We confess that in the matter we wrote of we relied on information given us by Chinese and others, and we were distressed at the ill success of our voyage, as your Excellencies may perceive. But now we are satisfied with the information afforded us and have given our reply to the informants to remit to your Excellencies, to which we refer you.

To come to what we now desire. There are two things, for which we will beg your Excellencies as our friends to forgive any fault on our side, if there should be any, for it is not intentional, but due to our ignorance of your Excellencies' customs, we being foreigners.

Firstly, will your Excellencies do us the favour of treating with the Chinese and inducing them to give up to us our merchants who are in Canton, together with our silver and merchandise. I know that many difficulties will arise in this matter, but we shall be greatly indebted to your Excellencies, and will report it as being a very great favour to the most powerful King of Great Britain, our Lord; and we will be responsible for all costs incurred in the matter.

Secondly, since we are in this place [Macao], will your Excellencies let us have some of the merchandise you may have [in your hands] as compensation for the heavy costs of this voyage.

If it pleases your Excellency, I will dispatch trustworthy persons to treat of these two matters, as nothing can be done by letters and messages at such a distance.

I intended to enclose with this a letter that I received from the Mandarin of Canton[1], in which he promises me my men in ten days, provided that I leave the River of Canton, which I have done; but the person who goes to treat of these matters will carry it.

We renew our offer of our persons and ships for the service of your Excellencies as your true friends. God keep your Excellencies many years.

From the Flagship [the Dragon], 29th September 1637.

JOHN WED[D]ELL
HARTHUR NATSH [ARTHUR HATCH]
PETER MUNDEZ

Agrees with the original
Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

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[1] No trace of this document has been found.

A Spanish galleon arrived From Manilla : a conference aboutt her.

The Last of September [1637]. Came a greatt shippe a little before Day and anchored somwhatt Near us. Wee sent the barge to her and found shee was a Spanish Galleon come From Manilla hither For Metall, Munition, etts. For the Kings accompt. Shee had aboutt 500 Men and 24 peeces of brasse Ordnance. Heretofore they yearly and usually came From Mannilla hither and returned with silke, etts., which From thence was transported to Aquapulco in Nueva Hispannia.[1] A Conference was had whither it were best to stay her or lette her goe, and it was concluded not to Meddle with her for sundry good reasons. Neither stayed shee long by us, For as soone as itt was lightt shee wayed, and as shee passed, shee saluted us with her Ordnance and wee her againe with ours. Our not intercepting her bredd greatt Murmuring in our whole Fleete amongst the Commonalty.

Promises of trade att Macao at laste.

The 2d of October 1637. Came the said Padre Roboredo, bringuing a lettre From the Generall of Macao, wherin all was remitted to the said Padre, who promised in the behalffe of the said Generall and Citty that they should use their best indeavours For the releasementt of our Merchantts at Cantan with all the Monies and goods there deteyned[2] ; Allsoe thatt there should Free licence bee graunted For the Merchantts of Macao to trade with us, and that wee might chuse a convenient place where our shippes Might ride in saffety.

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[1] Acapulco on the Pacific coast of Mexico (or New Spain). See De Morga, p. 315, for the yearly despatch of ships from Manila to New Spain.

[2] See the contract made by the Portuguese with the Mandarins of Canton, given below.

Copy of the contract which the City [of Macao] made with the Mandarins of Canton, respecting the English who were in the said port

[undated, ? October 1637]

(*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV.).

Touching the subjection[1], and to arrange for the liberation of the English who, being ignorant of the laws of China, entered your lands, we were summoned by the Aitao's Chapa [Haitao's *chhāp*, official order] to go to Canton and fetch the English, in number five men[2], and bring them to Macau, from whence they may return to their lands, and not transgress in the future, as in their petitions they promise, which if transgressing, we who are residents in the lands of the King of China and have received from him many favours for well nigh a hundred years, and are natives of his land, undertake to exert all our power as soldiers of the King in his service.

Agrees with the original

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

The 4th [*October* 1637]. In the Morning Mr Woolman[3] and my selffe, I say Captain Swanly, [Christopher Parr] the Purser of the *Dragon* and my selffe, were enordred to goe ashoare to conclude on the Articles[4] and to have all confirmed under the hands of the Captaine Generall and Councell off Macao. Butt beeing ready to set Forth, came a lettre From the Padre certifying that except our Admirall himselfe came in person they Desired none att all to come.

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[1] The sense seems to require "detention" rather than "subjection."

[2] In reality, six men, *viz.*, Nathaniel and John Mountney, Thomas Robinson, Charles Webb, Simon Grey, and a servant of the Mountneys.

[3] Thomas Woollman, master of the *Sun*.

[4] That is, to sign the agreement concluded with De Roboredo. A conference had been held by the Council at Macao on the 1st October, when it was deemed expedient to grant the requests of the English, lest they should seize on the Japan fleet in retaliation for their losses.

The Galleon of Mannilla : her Cargazone.

Att Noone Mr Woolman and myselffe were sent to see the Bay, or Enseada de Andres feo[1], some 4 leagues From Macao, whither it were a conveniente place For our shippes to ride in or Noe, As allsoe to congratulate the Captain of the Galleon For his safe arrivall to this Country and to thatt place. By him wee were kindly enterteyned and lodged that Nightt[2], and in the Morning wee came away. The galleon was aboutt 700 tunnes, built att Mannilla, very strong in tymber worcke and thicksided. Shee had made one voyage to Acapulco in Nueva Hispannia and backe. Shee brought From Mannilla about 9 or 10 tunnes off Cloves (sent thither From the Molluccaes), allsoe some Diers wood[3] and Mannilla tabacco ; nothing elce thatt wee could heare excepting Ryall off eightt to bee imployed in Munition For the King ; The Captaine a Biscayner, Named Juan Lopez de Andoyna, borne Nere el puerto [la puerta] de Sant Adrian[4] in the way from San Sebastian to Victoria.

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[1] Mundy's "Enseada de Andres feo" is difficult to locate, but he probably means what is now known as Urmston Bay (or Tong-ku Harbour), which is formed by the islands of Tong-ku and Saw-chau to the west and Castle Peak land to the east. This bay is, however, some 20 miles east of Macao, on the north side of the estuary of the Canton River, but only about 12 miles from Lintin harbour where the fleet was anchored. Its Portuguese name, as given by Mundy, may be a corruption of Enseada de Andrade Fernão Perez, so called to commemorate one of the earliest Portuguese visitors to this part of China. Andrade Fernão Perez reached St John Island in 1517.

[2] The *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) adds that the captain of the galleon "both in his person and reall performance of sundry offices of frendshipp unto us, expressed himselfe to be truly generous. He seemed hartily sorry for the vilde affronts, which he was given to understand wee had received from the Portugalls, and hath given a reall and true attestation under his hand att large, as may appeare, both of our readiness to affourd them all kind offices of love and of their perverseness and restless machinations to cross and affronte us."

[3] By "diers wood" Mundy probably means logwood (*Hæmatoxylon campechianum*).

[4] See vol. I. p. 141, for Mundy's previous reference to this place. There, as in the present reference, he confuses *puerto*, harbour, with *puerta*, mountain pass.

By report of our Men, who staied aboard thatt nightt allsoe, the inferiour officers of the shippe were served with some plate, *viz.*, Boateswaine, Carpenters, Caulkers, etts., butt in the greatt Cabbin there was aboundance in variety. Soe it seemes they make ritche voiages From Mannilla to Nova Hispanna and backe againe. They are not lesse then 6 Monthes sayling From Mannilla thither, allwaies uppon a Bowlin, the windes continually easterly. Butt From Aquapulco backe it is performed in aboutt 3 Monthes space, as comming before the wynde[1].

Whatt Chucculatte is.

Aboard this shippe was the first tyme I tasted Chacculatte[2], having formerly heard speake therof. It is made of a certaine graine growing in the West Indies, and in some parts there goeth currantt For Mony (as Almonds att Suratt)[3]. These they Dry, grinde to powder, boile in water, adde sugar, spice, odours, or other composition to it, and soe Drincking it warme in the Mornings is accompted very wholesome.

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[1] That is, from Manila outwards the vessel sailed close-haul'd and on the return voyage ran before the wind.

[2] Mundy's description of chocolate as a beverage is very interesting. The earliest quotation for the word in the *O.E.D.* is 1604 (E. Grimston's *D'Acosta's Hist. Indies*, IV. XXII. 271) and there is no other quotation until 1662, by which time it had become popular in England. The *O.E.D.* derives the word from Spanish *chocolate*, an adaptation of Mexican *chocolatl*, "an article of food made of equal parts of the seeds of cacao and those of the tree called pochotl." There is no example, among the quotations, of either of Mundy's spellings. The beverage that he tasted may possibly have been what the Mexicans knew as chocolate, and not cocoa with which it has been confounded, for, as is pointed out in the *O.E.D.*, the Mexican "cacautl" is, so far as is known, a radical word of the language.

[3] See vol. II., p. 311, for Mundy's remark on almonds as a medium of exchange, and for confirmation of his statement regarding cocoa beans, compare Dampier, I. 59, 62 :—"The Cacao Nuts, of which the Chocolate is made . . . are used as Money in the Bay of Campeachy." See also *Beginnings of Currency* (*Indian Antiquary*, XXIX. 29—45, 61—63).

Hostages Demaunded For our Admiralls landing att Maccao.

The 5th October [1637]. Wee were sentt unto Macao, where wee Delivered a lettre containing some reasons wherfore our Admirall could not come himselffe. However, if they would Deliver us 2 hostages, *viz.*, the said Padre for one, and the other to bee one of the Councell off the Citty, that then hee would come, otherwise Desired to bee excused[1]. The people in generall shewed themselves very straunge towards us, scarce any comming Near us. Yett was I in private told by one thatt there were Mandareenes come downe to treatt aboutt our businesse and thatt it was rumoured if wee would condiscend [agree] and promise Never to Molest them more in these partts, our Merchantts should bee Freed and goodes and Monies released. Soe having there awaited a good space For an answear wee were at length willed to goe away withoutt itt, whither it should be sent us.

Signes of reconciliation withall and Hopes of our merchantts etts. restoration.

Thatt afternoone, however, one of the Generalls pages came and overtooke us aboutt the point[2], and broughtt us our answear from him. At that very tyme there passed along close by us certaine China Juncks armed, off whome wee were somwhatt in doubt. They contrariwise, when they saw us, Fell to piping and Drumming as they went, signes of some reconciliation to be made, and that (as wee were told) there were in them Mandareenes come Downe to Negotiate all.

[1] In the letter from the Council at Macao to the King of England, a translation of which is given in Appendix E, the Portuguese complained bitterly that Courteen's merchants should so far have distrusted and insulted them as to demand hostages. They attributed this suspicion mainly to the influence of Captain Swanley.

[2] The southern point of Lintin Island, off which the fleet was lying.

In the Interym of our absence came lettres from our Merchantts at Cantan full of hopes to bee shortly restored, with Monies and Merchandize, or elce these country commodities in lieu therof, By reason the vice Roy off Cantan (or rather one of the Kings Secretaries) was com thither to hear the Matter, Soe thatt now wee beegan to recover hopes thatt wee should ere long see them all safely againe, which untill now wee Made great Doubts whither wee should see them this voyage or Noe.

Our Admirall adventureth on shore: How accompanied and Receaved into the Citty of Maccao.

The 8th of October [1637]. Came another lettre from the Generall and Councell off the Citty broughtt by 3 persons of quallity[1] (whome wee mightt have Deteyned butt Did not), earnestly intreating and requesting our Admirall (Cheifely) and the rest of the Commaunders of the Fleete to come to Macao[2]. There were many inconveniences, Doubtts and Daungers cast if hee went; and seeing None of the rest of the Commaunders would goe with him, hee went alone, accompanied only with our Minister, The Purser of the *Dragon*[3] and myselffe. Wee

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[1] In the letter to King Charles I., noted above, the Council at Macao stated that they sent persons of authority to meet Captain Weddell and complain of his want of confidence in their benevolent intentions.

[2] Weddell (*O.C.* 1662) Says that "the Governor and Council perceivinge" that the English intended to obstruct the Japan fleet, "tooke Councell, and made a decree that if I would Come ashoare and promise to goe to Leeward of the Iland, wee should have free libertie to Come on shore and buy and sell what the Cittie afforded. Soe there Came 2 Gentlemen aboarde in a sculling Junke and brought mee ashoare.

[3] For Arthur Hatch, minister, see *ante*, note on p. 245. The purser of the *Dragon* was Christopher Parr of Salthouse, Norfolk, who had been accused of engaging in private trade on the voyage out (see p. 36). It is probable that he perished with Captain Weddell when the *Dragon* was lost in 1639. His will, dated 23rd December 1634, was proved by his mother Elizabeth Parr on the 6th March 1640. He had had mercantile transactions in the Levant, Italy, "Muscovia," etc., and left a considerable estate. See *Wills, P.C.C.*, 127 *Harvey*.

were conveyed in their owne Choa or China vessell[1]. Att our passing Nere the Fort off St Francisco[2], wee were from thence saluted with 5 great peeces of Ordnance, And att our landing on the strand were receaved by the Councell and the Antients of the [? city], conducting us to a very faire house retchely furnished with Plate, Beeumbos, Chaires, Cottes, hanguings, etts.

Beeombos to what use.

Beeombos[3] are certaine skreenes of 8 or 9 Foote Deepe, made into sundry leaves which principally serve to Divide a roome or to sequester some part therof, as allsoe for Ornament, placing them against the walles. They make a Most Delightsome shew, beeing painted with variety off curious lively colleurs intermingled with gold, containing stories, beasts, birds, Fishes, Forrests, Flowers, Fruites, etts. They are commonly in 2 pairts [*sic*], each part containing 8 leaves or plaites, some of them worth 100 Ryall of eightt the paire, some More, some lesse.

A Dinner how served in [Macao].

Our Dinner was served in plate, very good and savoury to my Mynde, only the Manner much Differing From ours, For every Man had a like portion of each sort of Meat broughtt betweene 2 sillver plates, and this

[1] Cantonese *ts'o*, a sea-going junk. The only other examples of the use of this term by European travellers that I have found are in letters from the Viceroy of Goa to the King of Spain. Compare the following from letters dated 19th January and 26th February 1637 N.S. (*Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Translations, vols. X. and XI.)—" If the commerce with Manila is closed, the inhabitants of Macao will immediately arm some small vessels, which they call cho's, and in secret will load them with goods. . . . No vessel has come from Macau, although three had left, namely, two pachos [*pak-ts'o*, sea-going trading junk] and a Cho [*ts'o*, a sea-going junk]."

[2] The fortification of Macao was begun in 1616. São Francisco contained one of the three shore batteries commanding the outer harbour. See Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, p. 64.

[3] Sp. *biombo*, a screen.

often Chaunged, For before a man had Don with the one, there was another service stood ready For him; Allmost the same Decorum in our Drincke, every Man his silver Goblett by his trencher, which were no sooner empty butt there stood those ready thatt Filld them againe with excellent good Portugall wyne. There was allsoe indifferent good Musick of the voice, harpe and guitterne.

The Conclusion off our comming.

After Dynner wee went to the Captaine Generalls, and From his hee came with us to the Towne [Senate] house, Where came a taccassy[1] etts. Mandareenes to conferre aboutt our businesse. In Fine, it was concluded thatt 4 principall Portugalls should bee appointed to goe For Cantan there to Negotiate our Merchantts liberty etts. [and other things] thatt Mightt Concerne us, as they said.

Sundry habitts of Chinois.

Having often mentioned Mandareenes and in my passage to and Fro seene sundry sorts of habitts used among the Chinois, as of the Mandareens aforesaid, with others, I have sett Downe such severall sorts as I Doe remember to have seene aboutt Macao, Tayffoo, etts. *viz.*

[Mundy's explanation of Illustration No. 30.]

A. The habitt of those wee call Mandareenes (a portugall word)[2], beeing officers of Commaund, having

[1] Cant. *Tai-ke-sz*, Recorder, Registrar. Compare the following contemporary allusions to this officer. "A judge of the court, and called in their language Tequisi." Mendoza, ed. Staunton, II. 188. "There is also another Tribunal call'd Ti Kiu Su, and by the Portuguese Tai qui si." Magaillans, pp. 248—249.

[2] See *ante*, note [2] on p. 165. Mundy is here very interesting, because even as early as 1637 the Portuguese in Macao had started a false derivation for the term "Mandarin" from their own *mandar*, to hold authority, which misled many scholars, English and German, up to the 19th century. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Mandarin.

No. 30. Sundry habits of Chinois.

aboutt their middle a great girdle in which 2 such as himself may bee conteyned, made to stand outt, with the Kings armes embrodered before and behind them, somwhatt like the figure of a lyon[1]. They were it not ordinarily, butt fitt themselves when occasion requires, For I have seene the same parties thatt att sometymes are as No. A.; att other tymes I have seene them as No. D. and H.

B. The same made sidewise thatt the forme of his Cappe may bee seene[2], as allsoe the forepart of his body.

C. A gentile yong Fellow with a curious netting caule[3] over his head, his haire comming through beehind, which is Made uppe in Knobbes after the ordinary Manner, having a bodkin and Comb sticking in it, a Fanne in his hand[4], with long garmentts; Soe thatt I thincke Noe men in the world in their outtward habitt More resemble weomen then of these Doe.

D. Another attire I thinck common to all of the better sort[5].

E. The ordinary and common sort of people, it is

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[1] Compare Montanus, pp. 413—417, "Marks of the Mandarins. . . . Another mark or sign of the Magistrates is a certain Girdle made fast about their Waste, which they call Quonthat [Cantonese *kuen-tai*, embroidered girdle]; it bears four Fingers in breadth, is wider than their Bodies, and adorn'd at one end with a Tassell, made of artificial wrought Pieces. . . . Every Mandarin hath before his Breast on the Coat, and behind his Back, a square Patch or Piece curiously stitch'd with Gold and Silver Thred, and in the middle a Signal or Token of their Office and Quality, which are diverse, according to their several Employments. . . . Military Officers have Images of Panthers, Tygers, Lyons, and other ravening Creatures." See also Du Halde, II. 28—29. The device of a lion of India, Cant. *sz'-tsz'*, is the insignia of a military Mandarin of the second rank. See Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 358; Gray, *China*, I. 366.

[2] See Montanus, Illustrations C and D, facing p. 419, for similar caps.

[3] A horsehair cap, a net for the hair. See Semedo, p. 30, for caps and "Cawles." The cap, the term for it and the mode of wearing the hair are all now obsolete.

[4] Compare Montanus, p. 423, "Both Men and Woman carry a Fan in their Hands Winter and Summer, and it is accounted modesty to hold them before their Mouths when they speak."

[5] Here Mundy is depicting an obsolete form of a scholar's cap worn chiefly by the Confucians. See Montanus, p. 425.

said thatt when they Marry they were Caules from their forehead to this Marke *[1].

F. The same with hattes of leaves and rattanes[2].

G. Another sort[3].

H. Another sort, of which I saw butt one[4], which was when wee went aboard the Junckes to the Mandareene of Lantao[5]. Many with those kind off hattes stood on both sides; some of them I had seene att other tymes in the habitt of Mandareenes as No. A., as allsoe of the letter D., these beeing Commaunders of thatt Fleete, and the said Mandareene of Lantao over them all.

I. A poore fellow with a short Cloke and Coate all in one, Made of Cajanes[6] or Coconutt leaves to keepe them from the Raine, Most commonly boatemen.

K. Many youthes and boies I have seene in this manner, butt no Men, part offe their haire hanguing loose aboutt their browes and head and the rest bound uppe[7].

L. A Mandareene or officer sitting in his officiall robes att a table writing with a pensill[8] as all in generall Doe.

M. Is thatt which holds his Incke, the one side containing blacke, the other redde; 2 little partitiones

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[1] Mundy is alluding to a custom which prevailed before the Tatar conquest of China, when, on attaining their twentieth year, Chinese youths tied up their hair and wore a horsehair cap over it, in contradistinction to the modern custom of shaving the head with the exception of one lock of hair, which was originally imposed on the Chinese by an edict of 1627, as a badge of subjection to the Tatars. See Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, p. 761. See also *Purchas His Pilgrimage* ed. 1626, p. 443. Mundy's remark shows that the edict was not generally carried out in S. China in 1637.

[2] The summer hat, made of straw, bamboo or rattan.

[3] Headdress of Buddhists. For a similar Illustration, see Montanus, p. 438.

[4] Headdress of Taoists. See Montanus, p. 583, for similar headgear.

[5] See *ante*, p. 218. The illustration depicts a farmer's raincoat, Cantonese, *tsau-yü*. I am indebted for these identifications of costume to Mr. M. C. Jame.

[6] See *ante*, note [2] on p. 132. See Montanus, p. 358, for similar attire.

[7] See note [1], *supra*.

[8] That is, the brush used for writing Chinese characters, Cantonese, *pat*.

with water where hee Dippes his pensill and so tempers his Incke[1].

N. An Invention of [*sic*] with 5 peakes or spires, wheron hee putts his pencills For nott Fowling the Carpitt or table.

O. The paper, beegining their writing at the left hand and their lines from the toppe downe toward the bottome.

P. His Fanne : seeldome any Men of quallity withoutt them.

Q. A quitasoll [umbrella] held over him[2], if hee bee in the sonne : Scarce any withoutt them as they passe to and Fro.

R. A large board with a long handle with a paper pasted over it, wheron, I conceave, is written his Commission, and is allwais with him and carried before him as hee goes[3].

S. As I remember, when our prisoners came before Nurette, they all fell Downe on their knees and strooke their foreheads against the ground 3 tymes[4].

T. Inferiour people kneeling before officers, itt beeing usuall ; and for thatt purpose I have seene some with little Cusheons tyed to their Knees[5].

V. A Table covered with Damaske, Fastned at the Corners with buttones and loopes ; this is ordinary silke, beeing heere soe Cheape.

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[1] Chinese ink, Cantonese, *mak*. See Le Comte, p. 187.

[2] The state or official umbrella, Cantonese, *lo-sán*. See Montanus, p. 416, for the number of umbrellas permitted to Mandarins.

[3] See *ante*, note [2] on p. 171, for previous mentions of the *p'ai* or official rank boards.

[4] Mundy seems to be alluding to the crew of the junk seized by the English on the 12th August. Noretti probably acted as interpreter between them and their captors.

[5] Cantonese, *pau-sat*, knee-pad, lit. wrap-knees.

Montanus also remarks (p. 420), "Those that appear much before Mandarins, wear generally small Cushions ty'd to them, the bigness of a Hand to save their Knees, because they are forc'd during all the time of their Discourse with them, to Kneel."

When the Portugalls brought us a protest From Macao unto Fumaone[1], where wee rode, Then satte Nurette in state on the *Dragons* halffe Decke according to lettres L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. V.

Our Choppe [*chhāp*] or Patent From Cantan Falsely interpreted by Nurette.

Allsoe when the said Nurette came From Cantan with our Merchantts, then broughtt hee us downe a Patentt pasted on a board[2] as lettre R., which hee Construed unto us cleane contrary and Most Falce (as afterward appeared), Interpreting all on our sides, As that wee should have Free trade For 4 shippes yearly, with a convenientt place to inhabitt and to secure our shippes, Itt beeing all contrary as aforesaid (As itt was expounded by a Jesuitt skillfull in the tongue) ; butt wee will not beleive him[3]. Moreover, by the Merchantt of the Junck taken and Antonio the Caffer[4], their Interpretation agreeing with the Jesuitts in most things, these wanting language to express their Meaning, the effect of the Contents was Thatt how wee Durst with our shippes come uppe soe Farre—willing us to beegon, elce they would use all the Force they could to expell us, and thatt they would not leave us one Ragge of saile, which was one of their termes, and other things of the same Nature. The Jesuit had it worse, wee beeing stiled redhaired barbarians, etts[5]. Soe thatt hereby only wee mightt

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[1] On the 6th September. See *ante*, p. 221.

[2] See the diary of the 21st August, *ante* p. 212.

[3] "Will" should apparently be "would." Courteen's merchants were at first unwilling to believe that Noretti was playing them false, but by this time they were convinced of his treachery towards them. For further remarks on the false interpretation of the Chinese document sent by Noretti from Canton, see the letters from Domingos da Camara to the Viceroy and from the Council at Macao to King Charles I. (Appendix E).

[4] See *ante*, pp. 192, 241.

[5] See the translation of the "Chapa" of 27th October 1637 N.S., given in *Relation* XXV., *ante*, p. 214.

perceave it was Nurettes close contrived treachery in beetraying our Merchantts and Imployers Meanes uppe att Cantan. I say hee was the engine whereby itt was Don.

The attire of the heades of letter A. B., the Caule on lettre C., the Chapparone[1] of lettre D., and the round Cappe of lettre G. are all Made of blacke horse haires, either of the Mane or tayle, very curiously wroughtt and woven, Soe thatt through the worcke may bee seene their haire made uppe on the Crowne of their heads, The most eminentest thatt I have yett seene are those of lettre A.

The Mandareenes thatt came aboard of us, as soone as they were outt of our shippe into their owne boate. putt off their official abilementts and Dressed themselves after an ordinary Manner. Questionlesse many other straunge Fashioned attires are used Farther uppe in the Country.

As For the apparell of their weomen, I cannott say Much, having seene None butt the poorer sort, and those Differ butt little From the Men, The haire on their heads Made uppe after the same Manner, allthough in greater quantity. Jewells, Chaines, etts., I could [see] none worne by men, either Ritch or poore, aboutt their Necks, armes or in their eares, Neither weapons by their side.

I have here only endeavoured to shew somwhatt of their habitts. As For their phisiognomyes, they are for the most part small Eyed, wyde mouthed and Flatte Nosed, of a swart coullour those thatt live hereawaies, it beeing allmost under the tropicke of Cancer (allthough there bee amongst them many handsome Faces and proper men); their beards very thing [*sic*] with few haires, butt long, which I conceave to bee Naturall in

[1] Usually spelt chaperon, an obsolete term for a hood or cap, from Fr. *chaperon*, a hood.

the most part. Others pull them outt and keepe them soe. Some greatt thick beards I have seene, butt very Few.

Having made this short Digression off the Chinois, I will now returne to the Portugalls in Macao.

The 9th of October [1637]. After Dinner wee made accompt to have come away, having taken leave of the Captaine generall, as allsoe of the Captaine of the galleon then present, And a writing given by our Admirall under his hand[1] Thatt if the Hayto [Hai-tao] etts. Mandareenes would Deliver uppe Our Merchantts and Meanes Deteyned in Cantan, thatt then hee would Forthwith Depart and Never trouble these parts No More. I say, leave beeing taken, the writing given and wee ready to come away, wee were Disapointed off a boate, Soe stayed and lodged att the house of Captaine Antonio Olivera Aranha[2], one of the 4 Governours off Macao, who are elected every year, and Doe Dispose of Most of the Citty Matters, the Captaine Generall beeing For some Matters which particularly concerne the King[3].

Butt one Portugall woman in Macao.

The house of the said Senor Antonio, with the Furniture, entertaynementt etts., was suteable to the Former[4], Differing in this thatt wee were here served

[1] See *infra*, p. 264, for this document.

[2] A mistake for Antonio da Silveira Aranha, one of the Council at Macao.

[3] The first Captain-General of Macao, Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, was appointed in 1623. He had power over the military both as to person and property. In civil cases also he had power to impose fines of fixed amounts. The *ouvidor* or chief-justice, the *sargento-mor* or major of the regiment, an alderman and a judge assisted him in the exercise of his jurisdiction, and it seems to be these four whom Mundy styles "Governours of Macao." See Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, p. 75. This organisation was apparently based on the contemporary method of governing a Chinese city by four magistrates in grades. See Montanus, p. 408.

[4] That is, the house where the party had dined on the 8th October.

with weomen Maides, Chineses of his owne household, boughtt by him, wherof every housekeeper here hath Many who are accompted among their household stuffe or Meanes; and by report but one woman in all this towne thatt was borne in Portugall; their wives either Chinesas or of thatt Race heretoffore Married to Portugalls.

China Men sell their Children.

The poorer sort of Chineses selling their Children to pay their Debtts or Maynetaine themselves (which itt seemes is somwhat tollerated here), butt with this condition, as letting them to hire or binding them servauntts For 30, 40, 50 yeare, and after to bee Freed. Some sell them outrightt withoutt any Condition att all, bringuing them wrapt uppe in a bagge secretly by Nightt, and soe part with them For 2 or 4 Ryalls of eightt a peece[1].

Pretty Mestizninhes escolastica and Catalina[2].

There were att thatt tyme in the house 3 or 4 very pretty Children, Daughters to the said Senor Antonio and his kindred, thatt except in England, I thincke not in the world to bee overmatched For their pretty Feature and Complexion, their habitt or Dressing beecomming them as well, adorned with pretious Jewells and Costly apparrell, their uppermost garmentts beeing little Kimaones[3], or Japan coates, which graced them allsoe.

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[1] See Neuhoff, p. 214, for a similar statement. The practice of selling children to liquidate gambling debts still exists. See Gray, *China*, I. 242.

[2] Pretty *mestizinhas* Escolastica and Catalina, *i.e.*, Pretty little half-breeds, called Escolastica and Catalina.

[3] Kimona. This appears to be an early instance of the use of the word by Europeans. The first quotation in the *O.E.D.* is as late as 1887.

Copy of the undertaking [dated] 9th October 1637, which the Commander of the English fleet signed, as follows (*Lisbon Transcripts*, vol. IV.):

I, John Weddell, Commander of the fleet of four English ships at present in the River of Macau by order of my Master, the most powerful King of England, declare: That if the Aytao of Canton, or his Mandarins, deliver to me my six men[1] who are imprisoned by their authority in Canton, and the silver and merchandise they had with them, or any specimens of the products of China in exchange, that I will depart peacefully from Chinese waters, without injuring anyone, and will never return to these shores.

This I promise and thereto set my hand.

Macau, 9th April [*sic* ? October] Old Style.

JOHN WEDELL.

Agrees with the original

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

The 10th of October [1637]. Having taken leave of Senor Antonio aforesaid, wee came away, and passing by the Fort at the barre[2], wee were saluted by 5 peeces of Ordnance More; and soe wee came aboard. Although a great Many in our Fleete Made Doubt of itt, wee wellcommed those thatt came aboard with us (beeing the same thatt accompanied us on shoare) with good Cheere and gunnes

The 11th [*October* 1637]. Wee wayed and fell Downe to the Enseada de Andres feo[3], where wee found the Galleon of Mannilla, whome wee saluted and shee us againe. In this place the Artillery yielded 3 excellent Distinct echoes, one after the other, with such ratling

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[1] See *ante*, note [2] on p. 250, for the names.

[2] The battery of São Thiago de Barra which commanded the entrance to the inner harbour.

[3] Urmston Harbour. See note [1] on p. 251.

and thundring as though the hilles had come tumbling Downe, the land beeing close and high ground round about us.

A limmitted trade obteyned att last.

In Fine, wee had permission From the Portugalls off a limmitted trade in Macao, soe hired a house, setled people ashoare, Fell to Following our businesse on all hands,[1] selling our owne commodities, as Cloath, some Incense, etts., buying and shipping of theirs, as Sugar, Greene ginger, some stuffes, etts., butt untill the end of this Month Nothing of import entred uppon, by reason of the absence and trouble of our Merchantts.

Running at the Ring: Juego de Alcanzias.

In this space there was running at the ring and Allcanzias in Macao, of which 2 or 3 wordes, as allsoe of the place, inhabitantts, etts., as Followeth.

One Day of this Month, beeing Sonday, Some of us were on shoare in the placa de Santo Domingo[2], a spacious peece of ground levelled by art, where aboutt 15 or 16 Cavalleros[3] on Horsebacke ran att the Ring. It was 5 tymes carried away. This pastime hitherto I Never saw[4].

After this there was Juego de Alcanzias[5], much used in Spaine. A[l]canzias in Spanish is the name of those

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[1] From a remark in the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.), it seems that Peter Mundy was in charge of the house and business at Macao at this period.

[2] In the centre of the city.

[3] Port. *cavalleiros*.

[4] Mundy does not mean that the pastime was peculiar to Spain, but only that he had not hitherto witnessed it. Running or Tilting at the Ring, a variation of Running at the Quintain, was a popular sport in England and on the Continent in the 17th century.

[5] Mundy's title is confusing. *Juego* is Spanish and *Alcanzia* is Portuguese. Lacerda, *Port. Dict.*, defines *Alcanzia* as "a thin pot full of ashes or flowers," and "*Jogo de cavallo em que se faz tiro com alcanzias*" as "a sport used in Portugal where they had thin pots made, and riding, they throw them at one another, where they break on the armour."

little round hollow empty earthen halffe baked balles with which they played, beeing like to such as are made For servauntts to gather Mony att Christmas etts. festivalls[1], used allso in Spayne, the former taking the Name From the latter. Every Cavallero was bravely apparelled, with an adarga[2], which is a great pastboard or leather buckler on his arme ; One halffe of them like Moores of Barbary and the other halffe like Christianes, each having their Negroes or Caphers [*kāfir*], Cladd in Dammaske, an ordinary wear here For slaves and Servauntts. These carried launces with pendantts, wheron were painted their Masters Armes, butt when they came to [the game of] Alcanzias, each Negro served his Master with the said earthen balles. This and Juego de Cannas[3] performed after one Manner, only there canes [? are used] insteed of balles.

It resembles the play att Base used in our Country, *viz.*, First comes outt one in Deffiance ; another comes from the Contrary side to meet him ; then the first flies, the 2d pursues and Flings his ball att him, the other carrying his adarga beehind to guard his backe ; a third comes outt to rescue the first ; then the 2d returnes and Flies ; a 4th soccours him, and a 5tt makes him retire, Flynging allwaies their balles on the Flightt. And thus they continue untill their horses and selves are weary. Their Horses are very smalle, butt quicke and Couragious (like our Cornish nagges), beeing of this country breede[4]. There were among the rest 2 or 3 off a farre larger size, butt those are broughtt From Mannilla.

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[1] Special earthen boxes were used in Mundy's day by apprentices and servants for collecting Christmas doles. See N. and Q. 12 S. v. 79—80.

[2] Port. *adarga*, from Perso-Arabic *darqa*, a leather buckler or jerkin.

[3] Here again Mundy mixes up Spanish and Portuguese. He should have written *Juego de Cañas* or *Jogo de Cannas*.

[4] The Cantonese horse, which is not much larger than a Shetland pony, is bony, strong and surefooted. De Morga (p. 276) describes the horses brought from S. China to the Philippines as "small, very sturdy, of long step, vicious, quarrelsome, and ill-natured."

In whatt the Portugalls att Macao Doe take Delightt in, with their recreationes.

All the recreationes of this Citty ly within themselves, As their faire large strong Ritche and well furnished houses, Their wives and Children as Ritche in Jewells and apparell, their Number off slaves (For the most part the Men slaves Curled head Caphers [*kāfir*, negro] and the Femalles Chinesas), Their meetings, Feastings and rejoycings att their weddings, Christnings and holidaies (which are often) ; having Neither Feilds Nor gardeins abroad, the Chinois not allowing them.

A straunge plantt.

Some trees are to bee seene here and there in the Cityand some smalle gardein plottes, butt in their houses Many galleries and tarasses Furnished with Macetas[1], or Flower potts, made into sundry shapes, wherin were various sorts of smalle trees, plantts, Flowers, etts. Among the rest a smalle tree (common here) growing outt off a Meere rocke or stone, which is putt into a panne or other vessell off water, soe that the water cover the roote and some part off the stocke, and soe it waxeth greater, having seene some off 3 or 4 Foote high[2].

Pretty Fishes.

In the said panne they allso putt certaine smalle Fishes as bigge and as long as a Manns little Finger, their scales some of Silver and some off gould coullour shining, boughtt and broughtt From Cantan, Fed with

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[1] Here Mundy uses a Spanish word.

[2] Mr C. M. Jame identifies Mundy's "straunge plantt" as the *Narcissus tazetta* (Cantonese *shiu-sin-fâ*, water fairy flower), which is grown in the manner described in the text.

Sir David Prain, who consulted a Japanese friend on the subject, informs me that though the Japanese do not treat *Narcissus tazetta* in this manner, the Coreans settled in Western Japan do so.

bread, Rice, etts. There they continue a long tyme and breed, running in and outt through holes and concavities of the said rocke, beeing Artificall[1].

Both off the tree and Fishes I brought aboard to the Admirall [Captain Weddell], butt in few Daies all Died For want off good looking unto, For they are very Nice [delicate] and tender to bee kept.

Now and then in their Manchooas[2], pretty boates of which there is scarce any house of quality butt is provided, they goe with their Families to the smalle baies and Creekes thatt ly among the adjoyning Ilands round aboutt them, where they remaine 8 or 10 daies, More or less according to their pleasures, under the tentts they carry with them, in some fine little vally by a Running water, off which here is store. These are the Delightts of the Portugalls in these parts, with others.

Many Castles and Fortiffications att Macao.

This Citty of Macaò hath many Castles, Forts, plattfformes, etts., well stored with Ordnance and people[3], the Cittizens well Furnished with armes For themselves and Negroes, of whom there are Many. In my opinion a strong place[4], and it behooves them, For the Dutch await all oportunityes to Dispossesse them off this as well as of others. To the Norward off the Citty is a little plaine where there were slaine of them aboutt 5 or 600, by report, some few yeares since when they

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[1] Goldfish, *Cyprinus auratus* or *Carassius auratus*, Cantonese *kam-u*. See Le Comte, p. 113, Montanus, p. 274, and Du Halde, I. 36, II. 140—141, for contemporary descriptions.

[2] See note [4] on p.205.

[3] The fortification of Macao was the result of the attempt of the Dutch to establish trade with China. In 1615 orders were issued by the King of Spain to render Macao defensible, and the work was completed in 1626. See Semedo, p. 169; Neuhoff, p. 31.

[4] Compare Neuhoff, p. 31, "Macao . . . exceeds all others for great Cannon . . . being cast of Chinese and Japan Copper." See also Magaillans, pp. 135—136.

attempted this place[1]. To the Seaward it hath a very Faire large straunde, which, with the buildings theron goe all compassewise like unto a halffe Moone. On the Inner side of the Citty lieth a little rocky Iland called Isla Verde or greene Iland, beelonguing to the Padres of Saint Paule, or the Jesuits, and by them was caused to bee planted, soe thatt Now in a Manner it is covered with Fruit trees and yeildeth by report 2 or 3000 Ryall off eightt yearly proffitt to them[2]. I conceave thatt any off the rocky barren land hereabout mightt bee broughtt to the same passe by labour and Industry.

Provision Cheape.

All sorts off provisiones here, as bread, Flesh, Fish, Fruite, etts., very Cheape.

Ritche Inhabitants. The habitt of the weemen att Macao, abroad, at home.

This place affoards very Many ritche Men, Cladde after the Portugall Manner. Their Weomen like to those att Goa in Sherazzees or [? and] lunghees[3], one over theīr head and the other aboutt their Middle Downe to their Feete, on which they were low Chappines[4]. This is the Ordinary habitt of the weomen of Macao. Only the better sort are carried in hand Chaires like the Sidans att London, all close covered, off which there are

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[1] The Dutch made various attempts on Macao from 1601 onwards, the most serious being in June 1622 when they were defeated with heavy loss. For an account of the action, see Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, pp. 68—73; Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, II. 214—216.

[2] Ilha Verde, Green Island, now known as Tui-lien-shan or Patera Island, forms the westward portion of the inner harbour of Macao. For its settlement and cultivation by the Jesuits, see Ljungstedt, pp. 135—138.

[3] Mundy means Persian shawls for mantillas from Shīrāz and *lunggī*, petticoats.

[4] Chappine, an obsolete form of chopine, chopin, a kind of shoe raised above the ground by means of a cork, or other sole, worn in the 17th century in Spain and Italy.

very Costly and ritche broughtt From Japan.[1] Butt when they goe withoutt itt, the Mistris is hardly knowne From the Maide or slave wenche by outtward appearance, all close covered over, butt that their Sherazzees or [? shawls are] Finer. The manner as lettre A in the Following Figure[2].

The said weomen when they are within Doores wear over all a Certaine large wide sleeved vest called Japan kamaones or kerimaones[3], beecause it is the ordinary garment worne by Japoneses, there beeing Many Dainty ones broughtt From thence off Died silke and of others as Costly Made here by the Chinois off Ritche embrodery off coulloured silk and golde. I say they wear one of the said kimaones For their upper garment and their haire all made uppe on the Crowne of their heads, adorned with Jewells according to their abbillities. These kinde of Dressing, soe quickly to bee done, Doe become them soe well As others thatt bestow halffe a day aboutt themselves, as per letter B in the Figure underneath[4].

Variable newes From our Merchantts.

In this 20 Daies space wee had variable Newes of our Merchantts att Cantan, sometymes thatt they would bee here within a Day or two, other tymes thatt itt would bee long ere they could come. Once the Jesuitts Man[5] came running, calling For Albricias[6] (which is a terme thatt signiffies a gratification For good newes), which was given him. Then hee told us thatt our Merchantts were come within a league off the towne. Uppon which newes 3 boates were sentt From the shippes to wafft them

[1] For sedan chairs (Cantonese *kiu*), see Le Comte, p. 159; Du Halde, I. 224.

[2] See Illustration No. 31 A.

[3] See *ante*, note [3] on p. 263.

[4] See Illustration No. 31 B.

[5] The servant of Father Bartolomeo de Roboredo. See *ante*, p. 246.

[6] *Albricias*, Sp., a reward given for some good news.

No. 31. China Women.

No. 32. A Japonian; A Chinese making his Salutation.

aboard; butt they came nott att thatt tyme. Wee afterwards heard For a certainety thatt they were uppon comming away butt, on whatt occasion wee know nott, were called backe againe[1]. And thus have wee hung beetweene hope and Dispaire these many Daies, sometymes Joifull, sometymes sad, according to the Newes wee receaved.

The Portugalls Fleete returned From Japan.

The 5tt of November. Came in the Japan Fleete Who sett saile From hence the 23d of July and Made her voyage the Meane while thatt wee lay tumbled, tost and Crost through variable Fortunes[2]. These reported thatt there were 12 saile of Hollanders arrived there before them who spoiled their Markett by underselling them. They may not Meddle with the Portugalls there, beeing Forbidden by the King or Emperour of Japan. The Dutch have theire a Factory[3], the Portugalls None, allthough nott long since they had a faire towne, butt on some occasion Driven thence. Now att present when they arrive with their yearly Fleete, they keepe their Mart or faire on a certaine Iland, and are to Depart on such a Day of the Moone precise[4].

The Emperour of Japan his hatred to Christians: his Cruell lawes against them.

This Emperour beareth Mortall hatred to the Jesuitts, having of late yeares putt Many of them to Death by

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[1] See the diary of Courteen's merchants of 14th October, *infra*.

[2] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) we learn that the Portuguese fleet had "made a very harde voyadge" to Japan.

[3] The Dutch established themselves at Hirado (Firando) in 1611 and built a factory which they called Fort Zelandia. In 1641 they were driven from Hirado to the islet of Deshima.

[4] In 1636, by an Imperial Edict, the Portuguese were driven from Nagasaki, mainly through the machinations of the Dutch, and were restricted to the islet of Deshima for the purposes of trade.

sundry sorts of tormentts[1]. And Now lastly this voyage they killed 5 Churchmen thatt came From Mannilla[2]; And by relation, if any shippe bee knowne to have broughtt any, the said shippe is to bee burned, the goods conffiscated, the Company imprisoned, the house thatt harbours them shallbee rased, the owner or Master Forffeits his liffe and all the Neighbours Fined. Unto whomsoever can Discover or Detect any, shallbee given the vallue of [blank] Ryall off eightt a head. Yett Neverthelesse some repaire yearly thither. These rigourous conditiones extend not to Jesuitts and Churchmen only, butt alsoe to all Christians in generall, as well of their owne Nation as portugalls, etts., seeking to roote Christianity quite outt of his Country, having banished long since all those thatt proffessed Christian Religion. Soe much by common report; not unlikely to bee true[3].

A lettre From our Merchantts: goods provided by them att Cantan.

The 10th November [1637][4]. Wee receaved a lettre From our Merchantts att Cantan wherein they advised thatt they had provided aboutt 5 or 600 tunnes offe Sugar, greene ginger, Sugar Candy and China rootes, and had Fraighted 3 greatt Junckes to lade it in, with which they hoped to come Downe themselves very

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[1] The persecution of Christians in Japan began in 1597 under the Emperor Hideyoshi, and continued until 1638 when the bulk of the Christians, European and Japanese, perished in the massacre of Hara. The ruler in Mundy's time was Iyemitsu (1623—1650).

[2] In spite of severe edicts against any who should convey Jesuits to Japan from Manila or Formosa, there were constant attempts on the part of the Fathers to encounter martyrdom. See *Lisbon Transcripts, Books of the Monsoons*, Translations, vol. x., Viceroy to the King of 26th February 1637 N.S.

[3] The information given to Mundy was substantially correct. See Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, ch. vii.; Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, vol. i., book 4, ch. vi.

[4] Mundy does not record the sale of the *Anne* (though he alludes to it later on) on the 9th November to the captain of the Spanish galleon for 3,500 reals of eight. The transaction is noted in the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.)

sodainely. Allsoe thatt wee mightt Free our prisoners if wee would, which accordingly wee did, *viz.*, 8 taken in a great Juncke as aforementioned[1], and one thatt wee tooke From the shoare. These 9 were released and Mony given them to bear their Charges, with a lettre allsoe to our Merchantts, they Departed.

One prisoner wee reserved, it beeing hee thatt was taken in the Fire Juncks. This Fellow having escaped and bin healed of Most Desperate and Deadly wounds[2], seeing his Fellowes set att liberty and himselff yet kept in Durance, beelike Dispairing ever to bee Freed, butt rather reserved For some Further Cruell punishmentt, It is said hee leaped overboard, and beeing laden with Chaines and bolts of Iron off great waightt, Suncke Downrightt.

Plaies exhibited by the Chineses to the Common people gratis.

The 12th [*November* 1637]. Beeffore the Captaine of the galleones lodgings (which was in very Faire house beelonguing to the Jesuitts) was erected a scaffold or Theater, wheron was acted a play perfformed by China boies. The outtward action seemed pretty well unto us, and well Favoured boies; their singuing somwhatt like to thatt in India, all in unison[3], keeping stroke and tyme with tabours and Copper vessells. It was Don in the open place to all Commers withoutt any Mony Demaunded. It seemes Men of quallity, uppon causes off rejoycing, as weddings, birth off Children, Feast, etts., Do exhibit and bestow these plaies among

[1] See *ante*, p. 239. [2] See *ante*, p. 230.

[3] See vol. II., p. 217, for Mundy's remarks on Indian music. Compare Neuhoff, p. 166, "Their Vocal Musick consists of one note and tone as it were, for they know not how to alter or raise their Voices higher or lower, nor is it in use amongst them; notwithstanding which they brag very much of their sweet Voices, which haply to their ears accustomed thereto may seem pleasant; but sure I am to ours they are both harsh and untuneable."

the Common people gratis, they themselves paying For it[1]. They Acte allso with Men.

Our Commaunders Invited ashoare to see a play in St Paules Church.

The 25tt November 1637. Our Admirall etts. [and the other] Commaunders Were invited ashoare by the Padres of San Pablo to see a play to bee acted in Saint Paules Church by the Children of the towne, there beeing above 100 thatt should representt; butt they came Not. My selffe and others thatt were in towne went. It was part of the liffe of their Much renowned Saint Francisco Xavier, in the which were Divers pretty passages, *viz.*, A China Daunce by Children in China habitt; A Battaille beetweene the Portugalls and the Dutch in a daunce, where the Dutch were overcome, butt withoutt any reproachfull speeche or Disgracefull action to thatt Nation.

Another Daunce off broad Crabbes, commonly called Stoole Crabbes[2], beeing soe Many boies very prettily and wittily Disguised into the said Forme, who all sung and played on Instrumentts as though they had bin soe many Crabbes[3].

Another Daunce off Children soe smalle thatt it allmost seemed impossible it could have bin performed by them (For it might bee Doubted whither some off them were able well to goe [walk] or Noe), Chosen off purpose to breed admiration.

Last of all an Anticke[4], wherin one of them (the same that represented Francis[c]o Xavier) shewed such

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[1] See Montanus, pp. 247—248, and Osbeck I. 323—324 for remarks on plays acted gratis in the streets in S. China in the 17th and 18th centuries.

[2] *Platycarcinus pagurus*, the male of the edible crab.

[3] Neuhoff, p. 46, describes "Dancing [at Canton] in shapes of Lions, Tygers and Leopards, and other strange Creatures of their Country."

[4] A theatrical representation.

Dexterity on a Drumme, tossing it aloft, turning and whirling it aboutt with such exceeding quicknesse, withall keeping toutch and stroke with the Musicke, thatt it was admireable to the beeholders.

The Children were very Many, very pretty and very Ritchely adorned both in apparell and pretious Jewells, It beeing the Parentts care to sett them Forth For their owne content and Creditt, as it was the Jesuitts to enstructe them, who not only in this, butt in all other Manner [of] education are tutours and have the Care off the bringuing uppe the youth and yong Children off this towne, especially those of quallity.

The Theater was in the Church and the whole action was perfformed punctually, Not soe much as one among soe Many (allthough Children and the play long) was much outt of his part. For indeed there was a Jesuitt on the stage thatt was their Director as occasion offred.

In whatt case wee were in at thatt tyme, N.B.

In the Meane tyme itt went otherwise with us, Our Merchantts yett alofft [at Canton], wee in perplexity beelowe, our Mayne hopes overthrowne, *viz.*, setling trade in China, Japan, etts. General Discontents throughoutt; Nothing said to bee well Don; Imputationes [accusations] among the great ones, one uppon the other; Discontented Murmurings among the Inferiours. However the generall businesse went, the private was closely Followed. Our Cheiffe Directors[1] wanting; the Companys Factors and businesse Disposed off by Sea Commaunders, among whome Much Contradiction. In breiffe, all in a Conffusion, Misffortune having in a Manner hitherto Followed all our proceedings, *viz.*, prohibition off trade where wee most expected, Death off Men, treachery among straungers, Discontents among ourselves. God send a good end to all.

[1] Nathaniel Mountney and Thomas Robinson.

The arrivall of our Merchantts From Cantan.

The 28th November 1637. Our as long expected as Desired Merchants arrived att Macao (having bin wanting since the 24th off August, 3 Monthes and 4 Daies) in certaine China vessells, and would in them have come Directly aboard, butt were not permitted beetweene the Portugalls and the Chinois, one putting the Fault on the other; both Culpable. They broughtt with them much off the goods they advized offe.

The experiences of Courteen's merchants in Canton September—November 1637 (*Continuation of the China Voyage, Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.).

14th September 1637. Nathaniel and John Mounteney with one youth [Charles Webb], beinge in Canton, and Thomas Robinson with a servant of N. M. and a saylor of the Shipp *Sunne* [Simon Grey] detayned abourd the Kinges Joncke, neither the one nor the other Party could procure the conveighance of a letter, nor could come to understand what had passed belowe with the Shipps, nor how their owne Cases stood for many daies. And att this tyme was the host of their howse, togeather with his sonne, haled forth to prison with ropes and chaines about their neckes (the sonne not beinge freed att their Comeinge away), and all the rest of the howshould putt forth, all fyer quenched and Provision off victuall denied them, bills beinge sett upon the doores prohibitinge all access, and a guarde of Souldiers in the street to that End. Beinge in this treacherous manner thus handled for the space of 2 or 3 daies, in which tyme they sustayned themselves with a little bisquett and racke ['*arak*, spirits] which they had in the howse, att length they resolved Either to inforce a passage downe to the water side and to free themselves, or elce to perish in the attempt. And therefore, beinge fitted with swords and Pistolls, and haveinge pyled upp store of cleft wood against the doores, they made fyre

with a burning glass, and in sight of the guarde who from without could discerne them, they began to kindle the heape, when they were presently called unto to forbeare till worde might be carryed to the Manderyn, who sent immediately unto them to knowe what they intended therby.

They made answeare that beinge soe treacherously dealt withall, and havinge noe other present redress, they intended to revenge themselves by fyreinge the towne, and soe with the extreame hazard of their lives, Either to force a passage or to dye in the Attempt ; which resolution of theirs (beinge a qualitie wheroff those Cowardly people are not much guilty), togeather with the badd success of the fyre Jounckes[1] and the revenge which ours in the Shipps were then prosecutinge, caused him presently to inorder the doores to be opened[2]. Yett the guard continued still without, not permittinge any thing to be brought unto them untill that, beinge sharpned by necessitie, and seinge divers people howrely passing by from the markett with flesh or Fish in their hands, as the use there is, John Mounteney did divers tymes with his sword in one hand and monney in the other, seize upon their victualls, payinge them for the same, by which and the like tryalls which they had made of their patience, they found the English not to be such as the Portugalls had reported. Moreover, they had then received what they thought might be for that tyme Expected in bribes from those our hollow harted frends, and therefore att length began to Consider upon a restitution to be made for our goods and monies and to give way [yield] to our people accommodation there, each one shiftinge of the blame from himselfe, till att length itt was layde on the weakest shoulders and least able to bear the burthen of Envye (an usuall tricke amongst politicians), and thus was our poore broker imprisoned

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[1] See *ante*, pp. 227—233.

[2] From the letter of 19th December 1637 (*Courteen Papers*, Appendix D) we learn that the Chinese "Consented that an old fellowe whoe spoke a little Portingall should provide such necessaries as wee wanted."

and with Easily found cudgells [was] soe bebosted[1] that poore dogge, that they have scarce left him worth his skin.

Our Shipps in the interim, not hearinge from the merchants, save only by gennerall reporte that they were imprisoned, ranged to and fro about the mouth of the rever[2], pillageinge and burninge many vessells and villages and doinge many other spoiles, of which themselves can best relate the particulers, this register beinge then at Canton.

28th September 1637 . . .[3] Nathaniel and John Mountney beinge att some liberty, sent a letter downe to the Shipps and a coppy thereof to Thomas Robinson, who was not a little joyed (after soe longe detention) to understand of their safetye.

They received in Canton 2 letters from the Shipps and one from Thomas Robinson (the Contents of all will appeare in the books of letters)[4], and from that tyme they had some more freedome of sendinge, though with some interceptions. But the Shipps had then abandoned the river and were gone for Maccaw, where they arryved the 27th present . . .

6th October 1637. The Admyrall Gennerall Champin [*Tsung-ping*] sent to visite Nathaniel Mountney and his brother, and beinge desirous to tast some meate dressed after the English fashion, had caused his messenger to intymate so much unto them, wherupon they played the cookes and roasted certaine henns, etc., which togeather with some Bisquett, a bottle of Sacke and some other things, they sent unto him, wherewith he seemed much content and returned them many thanckes, assureinge them of his frendshipp ; nor did he fayle them therin to his uttmost, And at their departure told them he was sorry he could doe noe more for them, beinge the plaine truth that the Portugalls had outbribed them, And had soe farr prevayled with the great ones that he alone was not able to oppose

[1] Beaten with a cudgel, past participle of bebast.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 237—241.

[3] The passages omitted deal with events chronicled by Mundy.

[4] No copies of these books have been discovered.

soe many. But he sollicited Chadjan [*Cham-jan*] and the newe Vice Roy to write in our behalfe to the Kinge, and himselfe had done the like. And this was found to be true after their comeinge away, as shall appeare[1].

8th October 1637. . . . This day Nathaniel Mountney beinge sicke, Champin sent one of his people to visitte him, And the same night Thomas Robinson was lycenced to doe the like, and arryved in Canton, beinge the first tyme they had seene one another since the beginninge of their detention.

12th October 1637. They joyntly firmed [signed] a petition to the Mandryn for a free trade in China[2], And then Thomas Robinson beinge att liberty, returned againe abourd his Joncke to awayte an order for the weighinge out of the Incense, which the Mandryns had now resolved to take and to give Suger and Ginger for it . . .

Copy of the Second Petition made by the English to the Mandarins of Canton, this year 1637[3] (*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV.).

The merchants so and so who have recently come hither, because an interchange of kindness is praiseworthy, and this is done with respect to foreigners in the Kingdom itself[4]. We, though we differ from those in Macau in affections and laws, nevertheless have one heart; and they [the Portuguese] have had intercourse with China for many years, and follow her laws, but we for eight years

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[1] See Mundy's diary of 25th December, *infra*.

[2] The "Second Petition" given below appears to be the one that was "joyntly firmed." For an explanation of the discrepancy in dates, see a note appended to the document itself.

[3] There are two copies of this document among the *Lisbon Transcripts* at the India Office, one entitled as above, and the other, "Copy, of the Second Chapa." The latter title appears to be a misnomer since the Petition was not an official paper in the nature of a license.

The wording of both versions of the Petition is in many places confused and obscure, occasioned no doubt by the translations from English into Chinese and from Chinese into Portuguese by persons imperfectly acquainted with the languages.

[4] "The Kingdom" seems to refer to England.

past have delivered many hundreds of hundreds of taels to those of Macau for them to sell goods to us[1]. But they, moved by cupidity, because the Queves[2] take their silver and owe it, excuse themselves and will give us nothing, not even friendship.

This year, from hatred, they would not receive our silver nor allow us to disembark, but put poison in our wine, rice and other provisions, so that more than seventy of our people died; and the Mandarin of Casa Branca[3] saw this and is witness thereof. Wherefore we being unable to do otherwise, proceeded to the Mouth of the Tiger [Boca Tigris] to beg for help and pity. But here, on the contrary, the Mandarins would not receive us. We discharged some large pieces and broke the walls, pretending to fight, and going from place to place, we took from the inhabitants what we found, and we do not wish to restore it. Afterwards in pity they bid us go to Macau to trade, at which we greatly rejoiced. But the barbarians of Macau being wicked, of evil designs and covetous, we now beg that mercy be shown us and that instead of going to Macau, a piece of land be lent to us, from whence we may trade, and not desiring that it should be outside Macau, then a written license for a lantea[4] to fetch and carry merchandise, with all things clearly and manifestly set down that chapas [official notices] may be affixed in all places, that we may depart for good, and we will commit no damage whatever; and then from the Kingdom itself we may come in all security.

This is a just rendering of what the petition contains, this day the 7th of October 1637[5].

Agrees with the original

Domingos Rodrigues de Figueiredo.

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[1] See *ante*, note [7] on p. 210. [2] See *ante*, note [3] on p. 209.

[3] See *ante*, notes on pp. 167, 231.

[4] See *ante*, note on p. 172. One copy has "Canthea" which is obviously an error of the transcriber or translator.

[5] If, as stated in the Diary of Courteen's merchants, the Petition was signed on the 12th October O.S., it seems unlikely that it could have been translated as early as the 7th October N.S. or 27th September O.S. It is possible, however, that it was drawn up on the

14*th October* 1637. Aryved 5 Portugalls at Canton[1] who pretended to Captain Weddell that they had noe other business there, but only to solicite the libertie of the merchants, then which they performed nothinge less, giveinge a thowsand lyinge informations against our nation, reportinge us to be rouges, theeves, beggars and what not. And wheras the Merchants before their cominge had promise of a sudden dispatch [and] had received part of what was agreed for upon their monnies and goods, these good frends began againe by new excessive bribes to hinder their proceedings, And to have them detayned and sent upp to Paquin [Peking], the Citty royall, beinge 2 months Journye in the Cuntry, from whence they must never have Expected to returne. Two daies they were in Canton and detayned the letter they brought from our Shipps, not so much as once advizeinge the merchants of their arrivall.

The 3rd day they sent a paultry groome unto them, who would have perswaded them to draw a petition in portugueze to their good worshipps that it might please them to bestowe a vissite upon them, which ridiculous message was as scornfully received and answeared by Nathaniell Mountney, sendinge them word that as the English in Canton neither knew of their Comeinge, nor yett had any occasion to use their Curtesie (so farr as they understood), they would not therefore become suitors for such a petty favour as a visitte from persons whose quallitie and condition was to them unknowne. They might doe therefore as they pleased.

15*th October* 1637. Champin [*Tsung-ping*] haveinge Caused 4 petitions to Chadjan [*Cham-jan*] and the other Cheife Mandaryns to be drawne in the name of the English[2], he sent them to the merchants

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27th September and sent to Robinson on the 28th with a copy of the letter "to the Shipps" (see the Diary of that date), and that the Mountneys waited until Robinson's release from the junk and arrival at Canton, when they "joyntly firmed" the document.

[1] Mundy only mentions "4 principall Portugalls." See his diary of the 8th October.

[2] No copies of these petitions appear to exist.

to subscribe, which being done, they were presented on their behalfe. Their objects were to obtaine a present dispatch and a future trade, etc.

After the audjence was broken upp, 2 Mandryns of qualitie were sent from Chadjan and the rest to know iff the English would pay 20C [2000] tayes per annum for customes and duties, in consideration wherof they should be possessed of ½ Maccau and enjoye all freedoms which the Portugalls did. And hereof they desired to be resolved, that they mighte forthwith advertize the Kinge and procure his confirmation. And this they undoubtedly did, And answeare was arrived just att our thrustinge forth of Maccau, and indeed was the cheife cause of our pressinge to be gone, least it might have bin brought us by Paulo Noretty, who was ready to come with it and the Kings Firman [*farmān*, letters patent], as by his letters to our merchants appeares; and however, the Captain Gennerall pretended disgust against us for Carryinge of passengers.

In the afternoone the merchants were sent for to Champines [*Tsung-ping*] pallace that Chadjan [*Cham-jan*] might (as he desyred) see them. They went in the best Equipage [display] they could, but he, detayned by some other occasions, came not, and soe they returned home to their howse.

16*th October* 1637. The Portugalls came to visite our Merchants and delivered divers letters to [? from] the Shipps, and promised Convayance to some of theirs directed to Captain Weddell, etc.

18*th October* 1637. Thomas Robinson went upp to Canton from the Joncke, and the next day they were all 3 called to a Pagode or temple of Idolls in a little Iland in the midst of the ryver afore the Cittie wher the Portugalls usually reside[1]. And there,

[1] According to Ljungstedt, p. 83, the port of Canton was closed against Portuguese shipping in 1631, but as stated earlier in the narrative of Weddell and his merchants (*ante*, pp. 175—176), they made their way up the river through the inner passage. No confirmation has been found of the statement in the text that they had right of access to an island opposite the city. The place may be the "little Ile" mentioned in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. 1625 (First Book of the third Part, p. 195), "in the Citie of Cantan in the middest of the River" where was "a maner of a Monasterie of their Priests." Mr M. C. Jame informs me that it is now known as Napier Island.

before 3 or 4 counterfeite [imitation] Manderyns, they were by these worshipfull gentlemen accused of ingratitude towards them, Notwithstandinge which, forsooth, in Christian Charitie (iff Jews may have any) would redeeme them, and to that End they were come. They must therfore give Consent forthwith to goe with them to Maccau, and there they would deliver them upp to Captain Weddell, upon Condition that they and all the rest of the Councell would promise to undertake in writeing for the King of England that he should never send any more Shipps into China ; and yett but one of them must goe from Canton till such tyme as answeare should be returned for the firminge of this goodly obligation.

These propositions beinge uttered with their so solid or rather stolid Portugall gravitie, and before none but their owne counterfeite Creatures, wanted not much of begettinge an outright laught with our merchants, who fayled not roundly to tell them of their treachery and how little need they stood in of their soliciteinge their libertie, haveinge injoyed it before their arrivall, and indeed had never bin taken from them at all but by their procurement ; nor would they, unless Constrayned, goe with them to Maccau. And this and much more beinge deliverde them by Nathaniell Mounteney, soe insenced their spleene against him, that they wrote most bitterly of his stuborness, both to the Shipps and them of Maccau[1], and told them presently that in despight of his hearte[2], he should goe with them. And their counterfeite roughes condemned him that he must pay 28,000 Rs. [reals] of 8 for the trade he [had] driven in Canton, which iff he refused to parte with, upon that faire pretence, it should be detayned however in a more disgracefull manner for the satisfaction of the robberyes and pillages which our people had Comitted in the river. And

[1] The letter from the Council at Macao to King Charles I. (see Appendix E), dated 24th December 1637 N.S., contains bitter complaints of the arrogance of Nathaniel Mountney.

[2] In spite of his inclination.

this did these our good frends from tyme to tyme press all the Manderyns to prosecute, who utterly refused it, and dayly sought to hasten our despeed, some one or two Excepted, whom their bribes and falce informations had exasperated against us.

20*th October* 1637. Nathaniell Mounteney beinge againe Called before these petty counterfeites, refused to goe, but sent Thomas Robinson and John Mounteney, who appearinge, were told by the mouth of an Arch villiane, the Portugall Jurabassa [*juru-bahāsa*, interpreter], that the Manderyns had sentenced them to pay the somme of 28C [2,800] tayes, which was most falce, and paye it they must and then to be delivered over in to the hands of the Portugalls to trade under their protection and licence att Maccau, for this yeare onely, but never more to returne upon paine of &c., for those of Maccau, as they themselves proffessed, beinge sonns and subjects of the Kinge of China, ought not to be molested by such a theevish Nation as the English. Itt was answeared them a while after, upon the reiteration of these, that the English att their comeinge to Maccau supposed they had negociated with the King of Spaines subjects, but now by their owne confession, haveinge left the obedience due to him, wee hoped his Chatolique Majestie would hold us excused iff, receivinge wrongs from Chinesses, wee should seeke to redress ourselves upon those who proffessed to be the same. That their Jurebassa yesderdayes Exposition of the China sentence against the English [is] utterly falce will hereby appeare, for this daye Champin, who had gathered togeather most part of the goods and mouny, sent for them and made a reall [true] accompt with them for whatsoever was in his hands, and promised that, payinge the Duties accustomed, they should have an Annuall free trade and a place of residence where they pleased.

2[?4]*th October* 1637. Thomas Robinson went abourd his Joncke and prosecuted the waighinge out of all the Incense and returned to Canton the same night; and in 2 dayes he cleared that all

ashoare, and then brought upp the other 2 men that were prisoners with him to the Cittye[1].

[?5]*th November* 1637. About this tyme the merchants received a letter from the Councell touchinge their determynation to sell the Pinnace *Ann* to the Captain of the Gallion[2]. Now also were divers Jounckes in Canton takeinge in of suger, china rootes, boords for Chestes, Arracke[3], etc. Provisions. And all our people, haveinge free lycence, departed abourd a Jouncke which they had hired to bringe them down to the Shipps; but they were constreayned to stay certayne dayes to accompany the rest, in the meane time enjoyinge the Comforte of the fresh ayre after their close howse, And haveinge free licence when they pleased to goe ashoare on the other side of the river amongst the gardens. . . .

6*th November* 1637. Our good frends, the Portugalls, perceivinge that, in despight of their treacheryes, our people had gotten their freedome and goods, sent to exsite them with a Congratulatarye message, and told them there was an order Come from Chadjan [*Cham-jan*] for their dispatch, with satisfaction for all their monnyes and goods, which was knowne long before; but however, they would have seemed to have bin Officers in its procureinge. . . .

9*th November* 1637. Two petty Mandryns att the Pagode in Canton sent to speake with our merchants and the Portugalls; but they being busye in takeinge in of Sugar, Ginger, [China] rootes, etc., denyed to goe to them. Whereupon they, with 4 Portugalls came to the Jouncke side and demaunded iff they would goe to Maccau with them; but they refused to goe forth of the Joncke unless they were forced, the Portugalls againe tellinge them that they should goe whethere they would or noe, and soe departed.

16*th November* 1637. A small Joncke that had brought upp the Portugalls sett sayle this daye for

[1] One of these was Simon Grey. See *ante*, note [4] on p. 216.

[2] See note [4] on p. 272 for the price realised for the vessel.

[3] Arrack, *'arak*, spirits, probably samshoo, rice spirit. See *ante*, notes on p. 194.

Maccau with one of these 5 great Negotiators, being verrye sicke.

18*th November* 1637. Nathaniell and John Mountney went to Champin [*Tsung-ping*] with a present to take leave of him. He desired a receipt for the goods he had laden abourd for our accompt, and promised to procure the rest to be sent after to the Shipps, and that they should have his Firma [*farmān*, letters patent] for their dispeed.

19*th November* 1637. Receipts were passed by ours [our merchants] for whatsoever was received abourd.

22*d November* 1637. Nathaniell and John Mountney (Thomas Robinson beinge verry sicke) went to Champin for their dispatches, who before two Manderyns demaunded off them whether they had received satisfaction for their goods. They acknowledged all but 10C [1000] ryals, which was promised to be sent downe after them, and soe takeinge their fynall leave and beinge upon their departure, newes was brought that the 4 Portugalls awaited without for audience, whome Champin would not admitt unto his presence, but sent for their brokers to understand their business, which was to demaund the English to be delivered into their hands. Itt was answeared that they would not goe without force, and beinge frends they were not to be Constrayned. And besides they had already received order to pass with their owne goods and Vessells. The Portugalls to this sent in their reply that iff the English were not under their power, then their Shipps att Maccau would oppose and trouble the quiett trade; and they desyred them only to secure their owne goods and persons, and to bringe them to some good agreement. Wherupon he [the *Tsung-ping*] caused 2 interchangable writings to be made and fyrmed, by either partye that they should not molest or impeach one another,[1] and soe dismissed them upon Equall tearmes, ordayneinge Either parte to imbarque and passe upon their owne vessells, haveinge firste contracted

[1] No trace has been found of these documents.

fully with Nathaniell Mountney and caused him to signe a Condition that in leiwe of [return for] free and ample trade and residence, the English would yearly paye the Kinge 20000 tayes, fowre peece of iron ordnance and 50 musketts[1].

26th November 1637. Our merchants departed from Canton towards Maccau, and the same night the Portugalls dogginge them aloofe off[2], sett sayle also and after the next daye came upp with them, desyringe them to come to ancker, which beinge not yeelded unto, they threatned the poore marryners of the vessells, who for feare obeyed their Commaund, whilest ours had neither language or power to Contradicte. Both ours and the Portugalls came in sight of Maccau where, contrary to the interchangable Covenante passed betweene them and the Express order of Champin, they tooke the goods and persons of our merchants, and in little less than tryumphant manner brought them, towed att their sternes, into the porte of Maccau, the shoare beinge thronged with multitudes of spectators. And forthwith N. and J. Mounteney were called on lande, leaving Thomas Robinson (sicke of a dangerous Flouxe) abourd the Joncke, who that night came abourd the *Sunn* in hir Skiffe, where haveinge rested himselfe 2 dayes and taken some phisicall meanes, he went to the towne to assist the rest, where they continued with a thowsand interuptions, and dayly orderd to be gone, still investing what they could, beinge nowe thrust out of one howse by the Cities Comaund, and then out of another, till att last the Captain of the Spanish Gallion, with much curtesie, mannaged [controlled] their malice, harboured them verry Conveniently in his spacious house, to the noe small disgust of the Portugalls, who notwithstandinge, att last, on the sudden, by divers importunate offices, gave them a fynall Expulsion.

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[1] According to the instructions (purporting to have come from the Emperor of China) which reached Macao as the English were leaving the place (see the diary for the 25th December, *infra*), these conditions were renewed but were not then credited.

[2] Following them at a distance.

The 29th [*November* 1637]. Our Admirall etts. Commaunders went on shore, beeing therto invited.

A writing firmed and Delivered to the Chinois.

The 30th [*November* 1637]. Our Admirall [Captain Weddell], Mr Nathaniell Mountney and Vice Admirall [Captain Swanley] affirmed to a writing required by the Chinois, and by themselves odly indited[1]. The afforesaid writing was given to a Tacazzee [*tai-ke-sz*][2], beeing a certaine Degree of Mandareene, who now and att other tymes satte aboutt our businesse. Hee was broughtt in an open Chaire beetweene 2 Men, butt much higher From the ground then our Sedans; a quitasolle carried over his head; Musicke, *viz.*, a kind of hautboies and beating on brasse vessells, with severall ensignes, went before him[3].

Copy of the Undertaking signed by the English (*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV.)[4].

We the undersigned, solely in obedience to the orders of the Mandarins, give them this document. We all declare that through ignorance of the laws of China we did the things that we have done in entering inland into the country, trusting in the merciful King of China and in the great favours we have received from him, being men of distant lands.

And the Mandarins sent a Chapa [*chhāp*, official letter] to the City of Macau to bring us to Canton, to give security and bring us to Macau, from whence we may depart to our country; and in conformity

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[1] The document is given below.

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 256.

[3] Du Halde, who has a similar description, adds (II. 29—30) that this ceremonial applies to Mandarins of the 5th order. See *ante*, pp. 86, 259, 270 for notes on quitasol (umbrella) and sedan chairs. See also Neuhoff, pp. 136, 168—169.

[4] This document is in Spanish and the attestation in Portuguese.

with the laws of China, and never more to break them, we give this document upon our words; and should we act in any way contrary thereto, we will submit to any punishments the Mandarins and the City of Macau shall order. In witness whereof we have drawn up this document in obedience to them.

Macau, on the 10th of December 1637 [N.S.= 30th November O.S.].

RI . . . OMLEY [RICHARD SWANLEY]
NATH. MOUNT . . . ENLEY [MOUNTNEY]
— WEDELL

Compared with the original, which is in the Archives of this Court by me Gaspar Correa Coelho, ensign and notary thereof, on the 30th December 1637.

Gaspar Correa Coelho.

Thatt Nightt [30th November] they all came aboard, and other 2 Juncks arrived with more goodes, butt would not come aboard our shippes, Fearing belike thatt wee would have Deteyned them or don them some hurt in revenge of wrongs receaved From them[1].

Att our now hostes, who was allsoe our pilate comming hither From Mallacca[2], in a little gardein of his, wear beanes growing such as wee have with us, I meane greene stalkes and leaves off aboutt a Foote high; allsoe Mustard seede whose leaves were aboutt ½ yard long and above ¼ yeard broade[3], by which men may see thatt Climates Doe allter the Forme off plantts etts. [and other] Creatures, as by Divers other instances.

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[1] This fear appears to have been realised, for the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) records, "The Jonckes with our goods were sent abourd and taken in, but much abused."

[2] See *ante*, pp. 144 note [2], 147.

[3] Sir David Prain informs me that Mundy's "beanes" were probably the common Broad Bean, *Vicia Faba*. This bean has been cultivated in China since just before the Christian Era and was one of the only two sorts grown in England in Mundy's time, the other being a climbing variety of the French Bean, *Phaseolus vulgaris*.

The large-leaved mustard plant (Sir David Prain also informs me) was the *Brassica rugosa*, known as the "Chinese cabbage-leaved mustard."

An intent of myne owne to have gon a voiage of voiages, *viz.*, round about the World: Reasons For it.

Having From my Childhood bin exposed to traveill, First sent abroad by my Father[1], afterwards imployed in Forraigne parts on trafficke of Merchandize[2], this Custome beecame somewhatt Naturall unto Mee, Soe thatt Finding my selffe att presentt in or aboutt 120 degrees off East longitude From England[3], Itt bredde in Mee a desire to proceed on the same Easterly course till I had ended where I beegan, and soe to have once made one circle round aboutt the globe of the Earth, which would have bin a voyage of voyages: encluding Many under one.

The reasons I had For it were these Following:

1. First, my Naturall inclination and Desire, as aforesaid, having openly Declared my intent aboard our shippes.

2. Secondly, the Successe off the voyage nott issuing according to our Desire, and now noe greatt use off Factors, I might therefore well bee spared.

3. Thirdly, in regard wee are Now about ½ part off the way allready.

4 Fourthly[4], a good opportunity of a passage on the galleon off Manilla (having my selffe the Spanish tongue), who is to depart hence in Marche Next, it beeing aboutt 180 leagues thither. From Mannilla they Depart in June, and in December or January Following they arrive att Aquapulco in Nueva espanna [Mexico], accompted leagues 2500. They toutch nott, nor see any land all the way, except att one of the outt Iles off the said Manillas or Philipinas. From Aquapulco

[1] In 1611. See vol. I. p. 1.

[2] See vol. I. pp. xv—xvi.

[3] Macao is in 114° E. Longitude.

[4] Here is a marginal note in the MS., "which way it was to bee don."

overland to Pueblo de los Angeles[1], leagues 50. From thence they Depart in June againe to La Havana, which is leagues 400. From Havana the Fleete usually Departs in [blank] and arrive in Spaine aboutt [blank] Following, beeing 2000 leagues more. Then, From Sanlucar or Cales[2] (where they usually arrive) is leagues 480. In all From England, to goe thatt way round aboutt the world, would bee leagues 11300, which will bee butt aboutt as Many as wee shall Make this voyage outtward and homeward when god shall send us to our Country[3]. And to goe For England From Macao either way is Near aboutt one, this way amounting to 5630 leagues as above[4].

5. Fifftly, I mightt Doe some service to our Imployers in Discovery off trade att the Mannillas, etts., which would bee useffull hereafter, if they wentt Forward.

6. Sixtly, I mightt have saved them pounds 100 att least, wee beeing all now homeward bound and little to Doe, willing to renounce my wages For the tyme of my absence if Need were, rather then Faile.

Leave Demaunded, December 1637.

In Conclusion, I Demaunded leave of the Captaine of the Galleon (Thatt in case I could gett licence off my principalls here, which I Doubted not offe For the reasons aforesaid) Thatt I mightt goe passenger on his shippe For Manilla, where I would Doe him any service thatt

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[1] Puebla de los Angeles, the second city in Mexico, halfway between the city of Mexico and the port of Vera Cruz. Mr Alfred Maudslay tells me that as it stands on the high land, it was probably the usual stopping place for refreshment before descending to the torrid heat of the port.

[2] Sanlucar de Barrameda or Cadiz. See vol. I. p. 14 *n.*

[3] Mundy's Appendix II., to be printed in a later volume, contains a dissertation on the earth's motion.

[4] Here is a marginal note in the MS.: "A computation, in all, leagues 11,300, whereof 5670 from England unto Macao and 5630 from Macao to England homeward by way of the West Indies, outtward bound being by way of the Cape of Good hope."

lay in my power. Hee shewed his unwillingnesse therto by producing some reasons of State, *viz.*, Thatt the peace concluded off in these partts was nott yett conffirmed by our Kings and thereffore Durst not carry any straungers thither; thatt the Governmentt there [at Manila] was very strictt and Rigourous and the Governor therof as absolute as any vize Roy, and such like, hee himselffe beeing very wary and Cautious, I meane the Captain. Soe, Finding allready such Difficulty on thatt side and some allsoe expected on this, I let the Action Fall, which I would willingly have undertaken, allthough to my greatt Cost and perill. Yett, if I should escape with liffe, I made accompt to bee noe greater looser in my estate, For carrying part therof to bear my Charge, I would have putt out the rest on good secuerty on this Condition, Thatt if I returned into England thatt way, they should pay mee 3 For one which they should here receave of Mee, Butt thatt if I Died on the voyage, then the goodes or Monies to bee Freely theires.

The *Catherine* sett saile For Achein.

The 20th December [1637]. The *Catherine* was Dispeeded, and sett saile For Achein[1]. From thence shee was to goe For Battacala [Bhatkal] and soe For England. On her wentt Mr John Smart and Mr William Baron[2], Factors who were to remayne in India till the Fleete came thither.

Some of our Men run away.

There have bin Absentt these Many Daies 6 or 7 of our yong Men, supposed (and likely) to bee entertayned

[1] From the *Continuation of the China Voyage* (*Marine Records*, vol. LXIII.) we learn that a consultation had been held on the 12th December, "touchinge the dispeedinge of Shipp *Katherine* before the rest, with Advice and some Capitall to provide pepper att Achin and the coaste of India, against the *Dragons* and *Sunns* arryvall, and agreed to putt it in Execution forthwith."

[2] See *ante*, pp. 21, 152, for these merchants.

by the Jesuitts and gon in a vessell of theirs to Tunkee [Tongking]. For here these Padres trade in shipping, goodes and building, alleadging the Necessity off itt, As the greatt Charge they are att in sending their brethren to sundry parts where they have residences, with their Maynetenaunce, etts. there, As upp to Paquin [Peking] to the King of China every yeare goe some From hence with presentts, who For thatt purpose lett the haire off their head and beard grow, and travell Disguised in China habitt, allmost all the way by water, likewise to sundry other places hereaboutts, as Champa, Cauchinchina[1], etts., where they say they convert Many.

Buriall places off the Chineses like the Turckes.

Some Few Daies since, I with other Freinds walked Forth off towne, it beeing walled to landward. Aboutt ½ a mile withoutt it are a Multitude of China graves with stones sett uppe at their head and Feete, resembling the buriall place above Gallata, going to Pera, by Constantinople[2].

A Wall beetweene the Chinois and the Portugalls : To whatt purpose.

Aboutt ¾ off a Mile Farther is a very narrow Necke off land which Joines that part off the Iland wheron Macao stands with the rest. Att this Narrow place is a wall overthwart, reaching From Sea to Sea, about ½ a Flightt

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[1] See *ante*, notes on p. 154.

[2] Mundy has no reference to this burial place in his account of Constantinople and its environs (see vol. I. pp. 21—40). Of Chinese burying grounds Montanus (pp. 374, 376) remarks: "All their C[h]urch-Yards and Tombs are near the City . . . Their Graves are neatly hewn out of Stone, and on the top adorn'd with Shapes of Beasts, as Harts, Elephants and Lyons, with Encomiastick Inscriptions." Compare also A. Hamilton, II. 269; Du Halde, II. 125; Osbeck, I. 339. But it is difficult to see a resemblance between these burial grounds and the very large cemeteries outside the walls of Constantinople.

shotte in all[1]. In the said wall is a gate or passage with China watchemen[2], through which No portugall May passe without speciall licence. And slaves thatt have a Mynd to run away From their Masters, if they once gett through there, are saffe From Farther persuite, of which not a Few. Allsoe those watchemen Doe exacte and Collect some Dewties From the Country people thatt bring in provisiones, etts. And uppon occasion of Discontent with the Portugalls, the said gate is shutt and all Manner off Sustenance Debarred them by the Chinois From whome they have itt; thus by report[3].

Japoneses.

Some Few Japoneses wee saw in this Citty: most of them Christians. Those thatt are nott, shave the one halffe of their heads From the Crowne Forward, the rest of their haire tied beehind in a little knotte, butt very short[4]. They were buskins like Mittens, in 2 parts, one For their great toe and the other For the rest. On thatt a Sandall with one tye comming thwart over and the other before in the partition[5]. They blow their Noses with a certaine sofft and tough kind off paper which they carry aboutt them in small peeces, which

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[1] The wall was built across the isthmus by the Chinese in 1573. Montalto de Jesus (*Historic Macao*, p. 32) says it was raised "as a delimitation of frontier, as well as to control the provisioning of the colony, although the alleged object in view was only to prevent the incursion of negro fugitives from Macao."

[2] The gate was called by the Portuguese Porta do Cerco.

[3] See Montalto de Jesus, *op. cit.*, pp. 32—33, for the mode of provisioning the colony of Macao.

[4] The fashion of wearing the back hair drawn forward in a queue over the shaven middle of the skull is now obsolete among the Japanese.

[5] By "buskins" Mundy means the kind of sock, *tabi*, worn by the Japanese. It reaches only to the ankle and has a separate compartment for the great toe.

The sandal described in the text is the *waraji* which is fastened securely to the feet. The house sandal or *zōri* is movable. Both kinds are made of straw. See Chamberlain, *Things Japanese, s.v.* Dress.

having used, they Fling away as a Fillthy thing, keeping handkercheifes off lynnen to wype their Faces and hands[1].

Cloakes, etts., of Paper.

The said paper is made by report off a certaine roote beaten smalle. I have allsoe seene Cloakes Made off itt as supple and plyantt as Cloath, which beeing oyled or gummed, keepe outt Raine very well.[2] I have hereunder sett the Figure off a Japonian[3], as allsoe of a Chinois Doing his salutation.

A. [A] Japan[ese] in his Kimaone[4] or vest, with his Cotan by his side, and Dagger or Cuttbelly[5], of whome I cannott say much. You may read off them att large in Mr Purchas his pillgrimage[6].

The salutation off a Chinois : Touzzee Tabee and Bezo las Manos : whatt Most commonly the[y] are used For.

B. An ordinary Chinese making his Salutation[7], which is by laying one hand on the other, Drawing them with a shaking Motion towards his head, which they incline

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[1] Sir Ernest Satow informs me that Japanese paper for handkerchiefs is to a great extent made from the bark of the paper mulberry, *Broussonetia papyrifera*, which was probably introduced from China. This variety of paper is known as *hanshi* and the handkerchiefs as *hanakami*, nose-paper. By linen handkerchiefs Mundy probably meant those of cotton, since flax was little grown or used in Japan in his time.

[2] Sir Ernest Satow also tells me that the paper cloaks described by Mundy are made from a large-sized paper of the same kind as the handkerchiefs, known as *hachi-kirazu*, edges uncut.

[3] See Illustration No. 32 A.

[4] See Illustration No. 32 A. For kimona, see *ante*, pp. 263, 270.

[5] *Katana*, a sword. The Japanese word for dagger is *kuwai-ken*. By "Cuttbelly" Mundy is evidently alluding to the practice of *hara-kiri*, belly-cutting, the Japanese mode of committing suicide which obtained for about seven centuries.

[6] Chapter XVIII. of "The Fift Booke" of *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, ed. 1626, pp. 586—599, deals with Japan.

[7] See Illustration No. 32 B.

a little downeward[1]. Their usuall word is Touzzee[2], whhic hath somewhatt a like signiffication as Bezo las Manos[3] in Spanish, or Tabec[4] in Mallaya, which most commonly serves For good morrow, good even, how Doe you, you are wellcome, God bee with you, etts.

Japan language.

Here Follow 2 or 3 words off the Japonian language with some off their Numbers, *viz.*, as I was told.

Sagashoo gooseeka, how Doe you? Yungosere, well or good. Varoogoosere, ill or bad. Goodaree, Com[e]. Mundalee, goe. Sakee, wyne. Mesh, Rice[5].

Numbring in the Japan tongue, *viz.*

Accompt off waightt, etts. in the First File*[6]—all the rest common accompt, *viz.*

*Stote ...	1 Eeche	Joo Eetes	11	Neesoo eeche ...	21
States ...	2 Nee	Joo Nee	12	Nee soo Neeh ...	22
Meetes ...	3 San	Joo San	13	San Joo Roke ...	36
Yaates ...	4 See	Joo see	14	See Joo	40
Esotes ...	5 goe	Joo goe	15	goe Joo	50
Motsoo...	6 Roke	Joo Roke	16	goe Joo Roke ...	56
Nanates	7 Seeche	Joo Seech	17	Seech Joo.....	70
Yates ...	8 Fooche	Joo Footeschee	18	Fooche Joo Roke	86
Coconutt	9 Co	Joo Co	19	Feea Keh	100
Towa ...	10 Joo	Nee Sooe	20	Feeakegh san Joo	130

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[1] See Mandelslo, p. 182; Linschoten, ed. Burnell, 1. 145; for contemporary remarks on Chinese salutations.

[2] Cantonese *to-tse*, many thanks.

[3] *Beso las manos*, I kiss your hands.

[4] Malay *tabek*, salutation, greeting.

[5] Sir Ernest Satow has kindly given me the following correct rendering of the Japanese words supplied to Mundy by his interpreter in answer to his questions. I am also indebted to the same authority for the notes on those expressions and on the two kinds of Japanese numerals. Sagashoo gooseka = *Ikaga gozaru ka.* Yungosere = *Yo gozaru.* Varoogoosere = *Waru gozaru.* Goodare = *Gozaru.* Mundalee = *makare*, spelt according to the transliteration most in use; *makaru* is still used for "to go" in the province of Satsuma. Sakee = *sake.* Mundy is mistaken in describing *sake* as a "wyne." It is properly a rice-brew. Mesh=*Meshi*, (cooked) rice.

[6] The first "File" of numbers is Japanese and the second "File" is derived from Chinese. It may be said generally that the first are

A lettre from Nurette.

[25*th*] *December* 1637. On Christmas Day came a letter From Nurette in Cantan, certifying (as I was told) thatt the vice Roy was come to thatt Citty, and thatt we should have Free trade in the Country with a place to reside in, paying 20,000 taies, 4 peeces of Ordnance and 50 Musketts per annum[1]. Butt how hee may bee Creditted wee know nott, having Most falcely Construed the greatt Choppe [*chhāp*, license] sent us, and had bin the Instrumentall Cause of all our troubles[2].

The Generall of Maccao enraged against us : Revileth us in Most base termes.

The 26th December [1637]. I was enordred by our Admirall [Capt. J. Weddell] and Mr [Nathaniel] Mountney

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used with Japanese native words and the second with words of Chinese origin.

The correct rendering of the terms given above is as follows :—

Hitotsu ...	1 Ichi	11 Jū-ichi	21 Nijū-ichi
Futatsu ...	2 Ni	12 Jū-ni	22 Nijū-ni
Mitsu	3 San	13 Jū-san	36 Sanjū-roku
Yotsu ...	4 Shi	14 Jū-shi	40 Shi-jū
Itsutsu ...	5 Go	15 Jū-go	50 Go-jū
Mutsu ...	6 Roku	16 Jū-roku	56 Gojū-rokū
Nanatsu...	7 Shichi	17 Jū-shichi	70 Shichi-jū
Yatsu ...	8 Hachi	18 Jū-hachi	86 Hachijū-roku
Kokonotsu	9 Ku	19 Jū-ku	100 Hiyaku
Tō	10 Jū	20 Ni-jū	130 Hiyaku sanjū

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 287. Weddell (*O.C.* 1662), basing his statements on a false interpretation presented by Noretti, says that the privileges were conferred by a " Comaund from the King " and that if the English fulfilled the obligations required, they " should make Choice of anie Iland nere to Mocao. There wee might build and fortefie, and wee should have as free trade with Cantan as the Portugalls had to buy and sell, and that should be for Custome and all other duties which my selfe and Mr Mounteney had engadged our selves to performe by writinge."

[2] The tragic end of an interpreter, most probably identical with the man who had thus acted with such duplicity towards the English, is narrated by Neuhoff, p 144 :—" Not long after [3rd February 1656] one of our best Interpreters, by name Paul Duretti, was most lamentably murdered in his own house [at Canton]."

to certifie the Captaine generall thatt wee intended this Nightt to come all off the shore, And thatt therfore hee would cause a publication therof to bee made in the Citty, Soe thatt any thatt had accompts with us mightt com and cleare them. In the way I mett his Officer comming towards us with a Message From him, Soe [he] wentt backe againe with Mee. Butt before I could gett uppe staires hee [Domingos da Camara] mett Mee, and before I could beegin to speake, hee Fell a Rayling in Most violent Manner with uncivill and Discourteous language, asking if wee knew where wee were, if wee Did not thincke ourselves in the King of Spaines Dominion, or Did know him to bee generall; whither wee thoughtt our selves in London, Miscalling us by the Name of Picaros, Borachos, Traidores[1], etts., to say, Rogues, Drunkards, traitors, etts.; and that wee should Forthwith Depart to our Shippes, and thatt whomesoever hee Found ashoare in the Morning, hee would cause him to bee hangued and Confiscate all the goodes Found in the towne; and soe hee left Mee withoutt suffring Mee to speake one word.

The supposed cause.

The occasion of this his soe extraordinary rage was supposed to bee beecause Thatt in regard hee had requested thatt No Portugalls Nor their goods (Churchmen excepted) should passe on our shippes For India[2], And that our Admirall had promised him soe much, yett Notwithstanding that, wee had agreed to carry a greatt Number of passengers and muche wealth[3]. For hee would have had all on a vessell of their owne (that the King therby Mightt have his Dewties, which Now hee

[1] These are all Portuguese opprobrious epithets.

[2] See the Captain-General's Proclamation, *infra*.

[3] Weddell says (*O.C.* 1662), "The Townesmen pressed us to Carrie some passengers and their goods to Cutchin."

was likely to loose), butt none Durst adventure For Feare of the Hollander lying in the straightts off Mallacca.

Copy of the Proclamation which the Commander-in-Chief, Domingos da Camara de Nogueira [*sic* ? Noronha] caused to be published, forbidding any person from embarking in the English ships, 27th October 1637 [N.S. = 17 October O.S.]
(*Lisbon Transcripts, I.O. Records*, vol. IV.)

Hear the order of the Commander-in-Chief: That no person of whatever rank he may be (with the exception of Churchmen) shall embark either for India or any place whatsoever, under penalty of forfeiting all the goods of which he may be possessed and of being arrested and taken to the city of Goa, which punishment shall be inflicted in whatever place he may reach. And only the married men belonging to Goa, Malacca and Cochim may embark in the two ships, the one proceeding to Malacca and the other to Goa; and anyone acting to the contrary shall incur the said penalty. And no person shall embark without a written license from the said Commander-in-Chief and the Senate, even those who are proceeding in the said ships, seeing that we are expecting the enemy from Europe [the Dutch].

Given in Macau, 29th October 1637.

DOMINGOS DA CAMARA.

Agrees with the original
Domingos Rodrigues da Figueiredo.

Armed Men sent to thrust us outt off towne.

The Messengers came backe and delivered the Generalls Minde to our principalls att our house in the phrase afforesaid. Att Nightt came a greatt Crew of his Servauntts all armed with swords, bucklers, gunnes and lighted Matches to thrust us outt off towne att thatt Instant. Butt wee told them wee had leave of the Citty For 2 Daies longer to cleare all. Then they Departed.

The Councell of the Citty hasten our going Forth.

The Councell of the Citty allsoe hastning our going hence, saying there were sundry Choppes [*chhāp*, official order] New come From Cantan, wherin they were commaunded to putt us Forth Immediately. Thatt nightt Most of us wentt aboard.

Wee all come aboard.

The 27th December [1637]. Wee all came cleane off the shoare. It beeing Just 6 Monthes since our First arrivall.

A proteste sent ashoare.

The 28th [*December* 1637]. Mr John Mountney and Mr Robinson went ashoare once againe, carrying a protest against the Generall and Citty of Nombre de dios en China, vullgarly called Macao[1], it beeing allsoe this Day 6 Monthes since they carried our Kings Majesties Freindly lettre unto them. Att nightt they returned aboard againe.

Driven outt off Citty and Country by Fire and Sword in a Manner.

Having bin For these 6 Monthes variously Crosed in our Designe, our lives, shipping, goodes, etts., Molested, endaungered, Damnified, Our principalls with Much Meanes Deteyned att Cantan. Wee in the Meane [time] with much adoe here below gotte such a trade as the Portugalls themselves would allow us, For wee must stand to their Courtesy or have None att all; compelled by them 3 or 4 tymes to shifft habitationes;

[1] The settlement of Macao ranked as a city from 1586 when the Senate's Charter was bestowed by Dom Duarte de Menezes, Viceroy of India, and the place was styled Cidade do Nomo de Deos do Porto de Macao na China. Mundy gives the city a Spanish title.

somtymes all sent aboard and then againe permitted to come ashoare; Not certaine off one Daies residence, all things Don in hast and Doubt. Yett Notwithstanding our great Desire and importunity to have continued this Kind off trade (as bad as it was) somwhatt longer, wee could not bee permitted, butt were expelled in all hast, in a Manner perforce, outt off the Citty and Country, even by Fire and sword as one May well say, the Former att Tayffoo, the latter att Macao, as [? by] the Governours Servants, etts., leaving a greatt part off our Coive[d]all[1] beehind us, and a Farre greater yett uninvested[2].

Of China and some particularities therof.

However our entertainementt was here, yett will I adde 2 or 3 lynes in Commendation of this soe great, Ritche and Famous a kingdome, For as Much as I saw and heard, with somwhatt off their language, numbers, etts. particularities.

A healthy aire.

And First to bee noted thatt in these 6 Monthes wee enjoyed a very healthy tyme, No generall sicknesse Reigning. Few Died; the like sildom seene so along tyme among soe Many Men.

Religion little respected: some have None att all.

Of the Religion off the Chinois I cannott speake much. Only I mett one who told mee hee was of thatt secte thatt

[1] Cavidall, capital, in goods or money. This word is not found in the *O.E.D.*, though I understand that it has been noted for the Supplement. It appears to have come through Portuguese *cabedal*, capital. For numerous instances of its use in the above sense, see Foster, *English Factories*, 1618—1634, after which date its use seems to have been adandoned, probably owing to the decline of Portuguese influence.

[2] For details of goods purchased at Canton and Macao and laden on the *Dragon*, *Sun* and *Catherine*, see the letter of 19th December 1637, Appendix D.

beeleived No other then this liffe[1]; very curious in adorning their Pagodes, wherin are the Images off those they accompte For saintes, allthough they shew No greatt respect to the place Nor them, For they will talke, eatt, Drincke, walcke and play in their pagodes and before their altars as in a commons house, For as much as I saw.

When a Chinois Forsakes his Country or his Religion, then hee cutteth off his long haire (off which they are generally soe curious, and bestow much tyme aboutt the Combing and Fitting off it), and then hee beecommeth odious and is abhorred off his Country Men. And if it Chaunce it should come to bee cutt off perfforce, hee is to keepe himselffe close till itt bee growne out againe; such estimation they have off itt as aforesaid.

Their houses.

By report off our people thatt were att Cantan, as allsoe of Many Portugalls thatt have bin there, Their houses generally consist off one Floore, as were all of theirs thatt hitherto wee have seene, or off one loft From the ground, very low; and their streetes Narrow, some excepted[2].

Their habitt.

The attire and habitt of the Chinois I conceave to bee off various Formes according to the Country and office thatt they are off or in, as by relation and pictures or Figures May bee gathered. Some off these parts, such as I have seene, I have Deciphered as well as I could in Folio 145[3]. The better sort of weomen, by relation off themselves, have their Feete straightt bound uppe From

[1] A confused reference to the secular character of the Confucian doctrines.

[2] The majority of Chinese houses are still one-storeyed. See Doolittle, I. 42.

[3] See Illustration No. 30.

their Inffancy, soe thatt they beecome very short and smalle, some of them Not 4 Inches long and bad to Walke withall. I remember I saw one such when wee were among the townes and villages aboutt Tayffoo, much swathed and bound aboutt the Feete and lower part off the legge, as wee Doe For some greiffe [deformity] and infirmity in them, Foe soe this appeared to us, withall going very lamely. In Macao itt selffe few or No China weomen to bee seene, allthough off Men thousands who Dwell and inhabitt there, as Merchants, Brokers, shoppe keepers and handcraffts off all trades. Only, as aforementioned, Many poore Families, *viz.*, Men, weomen and Children with their smalle Meanes live in little boates and gett their Maynetenaunce by transporting to and Fro goods, passengers, etts., in service off the Citty.

Great eaters, Drinckers and Gamesters.

The Chinois [is] a great (and offten) eater, Drincker and gamester. Soe thatt some will play away all thatt they have, then their Children, then their wives, and last off all themselves, and worcke them selves and all out againe in tyme[1]. This by report they Doe att Jacatra [Batavia] and Bantam; perhappes Not soe much used here.

Poligamy allowed.

They may keepe Many wives (as Doe the Turkes) according to their Meanes. Hereaboutts a great part offe them are pockffretten or eaten with the smalle pockes.

Chinas excellencies.

This Countrie May bee said to excell in these particulers: Antiquity, largenesse, Ritchenesse, healthynesse, Plentiffullnesse. For Arts and manner off governmentt I thinck noe Kingdome in the world Comparable to it, Considered alltogether.

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 263.

Commodities, *viz.*, Gold, Raw silke.

Most of the Commodities here very ritche, rare, good and Cheape, *viz.*, Gold in lumpes called by the Portugalls Panes de Oro [loaves of gold], sold one waightt, ounce, etts., therof For 11 tymes soe much in silver of Ryall off eightt, I say the Nearest hand[1].

Rawe silke excelling, att 240 Ryall off eightt per peeco [*pikul*] aboutt 150 *ll.* English off 16 ounces.

Silke wroughtt, as Damasks, sattins, grograms, Chambletts, Double taffaties[2], very cheape.

Silke stuffes, *viz.*, reasonable good Damasks and good Double taffatyes, the Former att 5 Ryall per peece containing 15 yards is 3 yards For a Ryall off eightt, And the latter 5 Ryall. Allsoe For the peece containing about 30 yards is 6 yards For one Ryall off eightt, which is nott above 9*d* per yard, accompting the Ryalls as they Cost For the taffaties, and 18*d* for the Damaskes, sattins and grograms accordingly.

Sugar.

Sugar in powder, very good, smelling like roses, att 1½*d* per *ll.* English[3]

Muske: how said to bee Made.

Muske, worth 2½ Ryall eight per ounce[4], Made (by report) off a smalle beaste like a Catte, which they hunt,

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[1] This shows that the ratio of gold to silver was 1 to 11.

[2] Grogram, a coarse silk or a material of mohair, wool and silk; camlet, a stuff made of silk and goat's hair or wool; taffety, a plain woven silk (Pers. *taftān*).

[3] Sugar, Cantonese *t'ong*. The "sugar in powder" was probably granulated sugar, *shá-t'ong*.

[4] The price of musk in 1637 was higher than it was some 30 years later. In "notes of Goods vendible and purchasable in Macao," *c.* 1666 (*Factory Records, Misc.* XXIV. 96A) the price is given as "30 and 35 ryalls 8/8 per cattee." Taking the *katī* at about 1½ lbs. avoirdupois, the rate would be about 1¼ reals of eight per oz.

Chace and beat to Death with staves. The bruised Fleash and congealed bloud, which in other Creatures stincks, putriffies and Consumes, preserves it selffe with thatt precious smell, is cutt outt in lumpes with some part off the skynne, is made uppe therin (which wee Call Muscoddes), and preserved in pewter vessells. This by report[1].

Porcelane: how Made by report.

China Porcelane or earthen ware; the best in the world made uppe in the Country. I enquired the Manner off it. They generally say it is off a Certaine white stone, beaten to pouder, siffted and kneaded with water into a paste, Formed as they please, painted and baked as with us and as soone, Butt thatt they should ly 100 yeares undergrounde beeffore they came to perffection, soe thatt hee thatt beegins them Never sees their end, butt leaves that to his posterity after him, as some write. I could hear Nothing of this Nowadaies[2]. Good drincking cuppes att 1*d* and 1½*d*, and Fruitt Dishes att 2½*d* each; the rest according to that rate, For a whole barsa[3], which is 2 tubbes, will cost 28 or 30 Ryall eight, and they usually contain aboutt 600 peeces little and great.

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[1] Musk (Cantonese *shé-héung*, musk-scent), a secretion of the navel of the musk-deer, *Moschus moschiferus*, Cant. *shé*. "Muscodde" signifies musk in cods or bags.

Mundy's account of the method of obtaining musk is quite erroneous and is substantially that found in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. 1625, vol. III. p. 168. For other descriptions of the musk-deer and its product see Linschoten, ed. Burnell, I. 127—128; Mandelslo, p. 175, who says, "Musk . . . from a beast which the Chineses call Xe [*shé*]; whence comes the word Xehiang [*shé-héung*] (so they call the Musk) which signifies Scent of Musk"; "Semedo, p. 16; Du Halde, pp. 153—154, who calls the animal "hiang-tchang-tse ou Dain odoriferant."

[2] For contemporary descriptions of Chinese porcelain (Cantonese *t'sz*) see Mandelslo, p. 177; Neuhoff, pp. 70—71; Montanus, pp. 711—712. Mundy's description is that generally current in his time (see *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, ed. 1626, p. 445).

[3] Port. *braça*, a fathom, *i.e.*, a six-foot cask.

Greene ginger[1].

Greene ginger and Conserves off severall sorts very good and Cheape, the Former very large and cleare, exceeding any off other partts, att 4*d* or 5*d* per *ll.*

Provisiones.

All sorts off provisions good and Cheape, as graine, Flesh, Fish, Fruite.

Off the First, wheatt, Barly, Rice, etts.

Off the 2d, Beeves, sheepe, goates, hogges, etts., geese, poultry, Duckes, etts.

Off the 3d, sword Fishes, white porpoises[2], pillchards as wee have with us ; and off other good Fish aboundance.

Off the latter, peares, Chestnutts, leicheeas[3], and sundry other sorts, especially Orenges, off which here such variety and soe good as I thinck no place in the world affoards the like ; one sort called by the Portugalls Casca grossa beecause it hath a thicke skynne, to bee eaten alone, having a Dainety tast and relisheth like strawberries[4].

I will reiterate a little on some off these beecause off their straungenesse.

Fatt hogges.

Hogges I thincke the world affords not the like For Forme and Fattenesse, generally blacke, little or no

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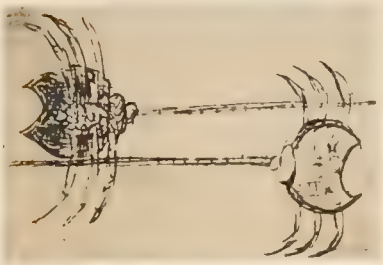
[1] Green ginger, *Zingiber officinale* (Cantonese *kéung*).

[2] See *ante*, p. 171. [3] See *ante*, p. 162.

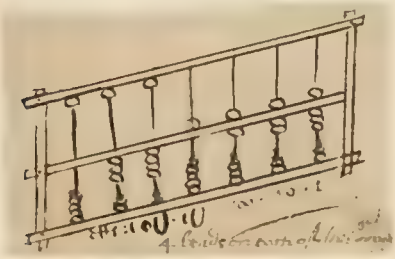
[4] Sir David Prain conjectures that this thick-skinned orange is the Pummelow, the " Pumpelmoose " (Tamil, *pambalimāsu*, with variants in S. Indian languages) of the old travellers, or Shaddock, Grapefruit, etc. (*Citrus aurantium*, subsp. *sinensis*, var. *decumana*, Cant. *luk-yau* or *yau-'tsz*), and his opinion is confirmed by Mr M. C. Jame, but the statement that the rind " relisheth like strawberries " seems exaggerated. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Pommelo and Shaddock. *Madras Manual*, vol. III., *s.v.* Pummelow, where the origin of that word is ascribed to Malay, apparently in error.

No. 33. Fat Hogges.

No. 34. Pretty Oranges.



No. 35. Strange Crabbes.



No. 36. An Invention to
Cast Accompts.

haire, shortt eared, legged and snowted, butt soe extreame Fatte thatt they resemble skynnes blowen or puffed uppe with winde or stuffed with Cotton, as by itts Figure[1].

Blacke Flesht poultry.

Here, as allsoe in India, are a kind off hennes whose Flesh and bones are blacke, as well alive as Dead and Dressed, appearing as though they had bin boyled in blacke licor, by Many accompted More Dayncty then the rest[2]. Duckes allsoe very Fatte, sold salted uppe and Downe. Hogges and Duckes very plenty[full], especially hogges which is Most of their Feeding, and Hogges, hennes, Duckes, etts, alive and Dead with skynne, haire, Feathers and all, commonly sold by waightt.

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[1] Cantonese, *fi-chü*, fat hog. See Illustration No. 33.

[2] The "black-skinned poultry" of India and China attracted the attention of several travellers besides Mundy.

"There are many fowls [in the Philippines] like those of Castile, and others very large, of a breed brought from China, very well tasted, and which make very nice capons; some of these fowls are black in feather, skin, flesh and bone, and of a good taste." De Morga, ed. Stanley, p. 276.

"On trouve aussi vers Azmer [Ajmer] des Poules qui ont la peau toute noire; aussi bien que les os, quoi que la chair soit tres-blanche." Thevenot, ed. 1727, p. 153.

"Froggs [in Canton] when they are frigacy'd, they tast as delicate as the best black skin'd Chicken in India." Lockyer, p. 167.

Ball, *Things Chinese*, also remarks, "Some of the Chinese fowls appear to have black bones, owing to a thin membrane of that colour surrounding the bones."

Dark fleshed, or partly dark fleshed, fowls with dark bones and skins are bred as a special breed among other domestic fowls in many parts of India. Their flesh is dainty to eat but not appetising in appearance. The "fowl" of De Morga and Mundy is the Megapode, *Megapodius cumingi* or *Megapodius lowi* of the Philippines and N.W. Borneo. It is found in the Ladrones, whence no doubt it was taken to Macao. The flesh and bones of these birds are of a deep brown colour merging into black. They have a wide distribution in the Malay Archipelago from the Nicobars to Borneo, and thence to New Guinea, N. Australia and the Pacific Islands to Samoa. The editor once tried to breed the Nicobar variety in the Andamans. They are true fowls and the cock has a peculiar crow about midnight. For interesting and rare information regarding the Nicobarese variety of the megapode, its habits and peculiarly large egg, see C. B. Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, pp. 68—70, 74, 77, 113, 121, 327, 328.

Pretty Orenges.

A smalle kind of Orenge No bigger then the toppe off ones Finger, of an ovall Forme resembling a plumme. When they are Ripe they beecome yellow and are much used to bee preserved in sugar whole. They are in Forme and biggnesse as per the Figure[1].

Strange Crabbes.

Here are allsoe about these parts a kind off a Monstrous Crabbe good to eat, butt there is something in them thatt is venimous which must bee taken away, knowne to the people. The Body and head beeing all in one is aboutt a Foote over, resembling somwhatt the Forme above sett[2], there beeing Divers off them broughtt aboard alive.

Many other straunge Beasts, Fowle, Fishes, Fruitts, etts., are or may bee in this Country, butt I have sett Downe only those Few thatt came to My sight.

Straunge Candles.

I had Forgotten Candles. They are made here off the Fatte off a tree[3], the wicke beeing off the wood off the same tree, wrapped aboutt with a little Cotton. These are For ordinary uses and burne very well.

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[1] The Kamquat, Kumquot, Comquot (Cantonese *kam kwat*, golden orange), *Citrus aurantium sinense*. See Illustration No. 34.

The editor grew several trees at the Andamans of a "China Orange," very small, of a deep crimson colour, with one pip only, which made an excellent whole-fruit jam.

[2] See Illustration No. 35. The King-crab (*Polyphemus*, Cant. *wong-yau-háí*) found in the Canton River. Osbeck (I. 182) remarks: "These are as big again as the Swedish crabs; the body is almost transparent . . . the eyes are extremely prominent." See also Du Halde, I. 122.

[3] The Tallow-tree, *Stillingia sebifera*, a native of China, Cant. *ú-k'au* (called *ú-k'au-muk* in Macao). The vegetable tallow is known as *ú-k'au-yau*. Eitel, *Cantonese Dictionary*, quotes a phrase of the people, "*K'au yau tsok lap chuk*, candles are made from the fat of the tallow tree." See Le Comte, p. 99; Neuhoff, p. 263; Magaillans (who calls the tree "Kuei Xu"), p. 144; and Du Halde (who calls it "*ou kieou mou*"), I. 18 and II. 7.

Coynes and Waightts used att Macao in China.

1 Tay [tael, *tāhil, tāil*] vallued att 10 Massaes [*māṣ, māsha*][1].

1 Massa vallued att 10 Cundoroneis[2].

1 Cundoreene att 10 Casse [cash, *kāsu, kārsha*][3].

1 Casse vallued att 10 Aguos[4].

This is the Devis[i]on off their waightt, as allsoe the Decimation off their Coine[5], paying outt their gold and silver by waightt, cutting itt outt in smalle peeces[6];

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[1] See *ante*, notes on pp. 136, 137. Compare Montanus (p. 440): "A tail being five Shillings Sterling, ten Mass are accounted to make one Tail." This statement is useful as it gives the following current valuation of Far Eastern money, *c.* 1666.

1 tael	= 5 shillings.
1 mace	= 6 pence.
1 candareen	= $\frac{3}{5}$ penny.
1 cash	= $\frac{3}{50}$ penny.

[2] A plural in Portuguese form of English candareen, Malay *konduri*, Dutch *condorin*. See *Indian Antiquary*, XXVI. 316—317, etc.

[3] See *ante*, note on p. 192.

[4] This perhaps represents *abrus*, which (*Abrus precatorius*) is a seed used universally as the basis of all Oriental monetary scales, owing to its constant weight, under innumerable names, *e.g.*, Indian *ratī*, Burmese *ywē*, Malay *sagā*, etc. There is another seed (*Adenanthera pavonina*), similarly used for the same reason, which is double of the *abrus* in weight, whence the Indian double *ratī*, Burmese *ywēgyī*, Chinese *fēn*, etc. This fact has produced in all times a confusion in the monetary scales of the East (one double of the other) which must always be borne in mind when investigating statements as to Oriental values. See *Indian Antiquary*, XXVI. 314 ff.; XXVII. 33, etc.

The whole statement provides the following scale:—

10 aguos	= 1 casse
10 casse	= 1 cundoreene
10 cundoroneis	= 1 massa
10 massaes	= 1 tay

[5] Mundy's statement shows that the tael (tay) was in his time at Macao worth 1000 cash, and was divided by the universal Chinese decimal monetary scale, for the origin of which see *Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII. 32.

[6] This refers to the universal Far Eastern system of bullion currency and trading by weight of bullion. For the use of chipped bullion for currency in Burma, China, Tibet, etc., see *Indian Antiquary*, XXVI. 160 ff., and for its effect on trade, *op. cit.* 197 ff. The direct reference in the text is to the sycee silver (Cantonese *sai-sz ngan*, fine silk silver, because fine silver can be drawn out into threads) of China, which had, and still has a high fixed value on account of its purity or fineness. It was cast in silver "shoes" or "boats" of varying size and cut up by hammer and chisel as required. Eitel, *Cantonese Dict., s.v. Ngan*

only Cashe is a Copper Coyne with China Characters[1].

1 Peeco[2] contentts 100 Cattees.

Off Cattees there are 2 sorts, *viz.* 1 [the standard] Cattee [*katī*][3] contentts 16 Tayes or 20½ ounces Nearest hand, by which is wayed all Fine goods, silke excepted. 1 Cattee contentts 18 tayes is aboutt 23 ounces, by which are wayed all grosse comodities and silke.

50 taies by Nearest computation poiz. 68 Ryall eightt or 64 ounces English.

(silver), says that there were 17 kinds of silver bullion in his time, differentiated presumably by quality or touch. In Burma the qualities (touch) of silver bullion, each with a name according to the amount of alloy in it, were, before British rule, many more. Magaillans, p. 136, says: "The Pieces of Gold and Silver are not Coyn'd, but cast into Lingots in the form of a small Boat, which at Macao are call'd Paes [Port. *pães*] or Loaves of Gold or Silver."

[1] Compare Magaillans, p. 136: "The Copper Money of China is round, and generally about the bigness of a Portuguese Real and a half."

It is worth noting that both Mundy and Magaillans (1637 and 1688 respectively) state the cash of their day to be of copper and say nothing as to the well-known square hole in it, though the description of the coin as of the size of "a Portuguese Real and a half" makes it impossible for the value to have been about $\frac{1}{18}$ of a penny (or, say, half a mite), and the square hole dates back to a remote period. For the origin of the hole see *Indian Antiquary* XXIX. 44, and Plate IV. About 1590 a great depreciation in the value of the cash as a coin took place (they fell, amongst the Malays, to 30,000 to the tael) owing to a great debasement on the part of traders from Fuhkien. See Mandelslo, p. 146; *Indian Antiquary*, XXVII. 34 and footnote.

The notion that Chinese cash are of copper has prevailed to our own time, and about 1892 Sir Thomas Wade gave the editor the following note:—"The Chinese have no currency except a very poor one of copper, of which 1000 = 1 oz. of silver bullion, known to foreigners as the tael. The small copper coin, though nominally $\frac{1}{1000}$ of 1 oz., is never in circulation at that value. I have been assured by a President of the Board of Revenue that to make one such a copper coin (known in foreign trade as a cash), a coin that is really = $\frac{1}{1000}$ of the tael, costs three. The value of this cash is of course hopelessly variable. I have known the ounce or tael of silver worth above 2000 cash."

This note shows, however, that the metal of which cash are made could not have been copper, a fact of which the old traders were well aware: *vide* Stevens, *Guide to East India Trade*, p. 125:—"In China they have no Coin of any Sort but Cash, which are small Pieces of some base Metal, about the Size of a Shilling, with a Hole in the Middle to put a String through, I suppose for the Conveniency of carrying them about, they are used only by the poor People for Change, in buying small Necessaries."

[2] Malay *pikul*, about 133⅓ lbs. avoirdupois. [3] See note [2] on p. 137.

1 loaffe[1] of gold poiz. 10 taies and worth 110 taies in Spanish plate[2].

1 Ryall off eightt oughtt to wey by ballaunce or the Crosse beame 7 Massaes 3 Cundoreenes and 3 Cassaes and by the Dachein or Stillyard[3] 7 M, 4 C, 0 C.

1 Ryall off eightt ought to wey in Japan plate or [so as to be] worth 8 Massaes, 4 Cundoreens, 3 C [cash] by the beame waightt, and by the Stillyard or Romain waightt 8 M 5 Co., there beeing 7 Casse Difference in the 2 waightts[4].

Difference beetweene Japan and Spanish silver.

Note, thatt if you are to pay 100 taies of Japan plate and you will give him Ryall off eightt, then every Ryall is accompted 8 M, 4, 3, or 8 M, 5, 0, butt if you owe Ryall off eightt and would pay it in Japan plate, For every Ryall which is 7 M, 4 C, you must give 8 M, 5 C in Japan silver, there beeing 15 per cento Difference in ordinary paymentts beetweene Spanish and Japan silver, the Former the better, called Pla la [*plata*] Corriente or currant silver.

A Dachein[5].

For their liquid and Dry Measures they are here as att Goa. I thincke a Dachein is a little stillyard,

[1] "Loaf," translation of Portuguese *pão* for an ingot of bullion (Cantonese *ting*).

[2] Spanish Old Plate was the standard of exchange. This and the previous statement make the tael in Mundy's time to be worth about six shillings as against five shillings in the time of Montanus, some thirty years later.

[3] See *infra* for a note on these terms.

[4] Mundy is here alluding to the Spanish dollar as it was understood in Japan, and ordinarily valued there at 7 to 7½ mace. See Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, I. 197.

[5] The term dotchin, dachein, dodgeon, dodging, etc., is a corruption of the Cantonese *toh-ch'ing* (*toh*, to measure + *ch'ing*, to weigh) and is the name given in S. China to the small hand-steelyard there used. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Datchin.

"Fine Goods, as Muske, silver, &c. are weigted by Duckin Ballance." Notes of goods vendible and purchasable in Macao *c.* 1660 (*Factory Records Misc.* XXIV. 96*a*). "Datchin is their larger weight, with which they weigh by pekul and katty." Osbeck, I. 262.

The difference between a crossbeam or balance and a dotchin or

which usually China Men carry aboutt them to wey their Monies, there beeing great ones to way Commodities, off which if one will not serve to wey whatt you require, then they hang uppe 2 stillyards, waying one thing with both waightts at once. Most China Men can write and cast uppe accompts which they Doe [by] pen, as allsoe by an Invention with beades in stead of Counters, and Deciphered when I come to speake of their Numbers[1].

How the Chinois write.

Here follow some China Characters or lettres, as I had them From the Merchant, beeing off those eightt thatt were taken outt off a great Juncke which wee fired, as formerly Mentioned[2], with their pronounciation in China and signification in English. Our interpreter, Antonio the Caffer[3], None of the best [of] linguists, and thereffore may bee conceaved Not soe punctuall and perffitt, butt beeing For the Most part off proper Names of things, the error May bee the lesse. The China writing beeginning From the rightt hand toward the lefft, and their lynes From the toppe Downeward thus :

7 4 1
8 5 2
9 6 3

where they beegin with 1 and proceed to 2 and 3 in the First lyne, then to 4, 5, 6 in the second, etts., beeginning their bookes att the Farthest and wrong end as wee Conceave, or as wee use. Butt these few Following words goe Forward according to our Custome. They all write with pencills and blacke and Red Incke made into Dry past which they Distemper with water when they will use itt.

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steelyard is that the former apparatus consists of a beam made to move freely on a central pivot with a scale pan at each end, while the latter is a balance consisting of a lever with unequal arms which moves on a fulcrum.

[1] See *infra*, pp 314—315 for Mundy's remarks on the abacus.

[2] See *ante*, p. 239.

[3] See *ante*, pp. 192, 241.

China Characters with their Signification englished[1].
English words written by them[2].

How Doe you Doe. Ve-ry well. But they pronounce it vely wen. Pe-tang Mun-ty For Peter Mundy. Soe it seemes thatt P, L and D are hard to bee Found att the end off their words, especially R, sildome used and hard to bee pronounced by them, allthough it is sometymes by some thatt live among the Portugall[s] att Macao.

China Characters thatt expresse their Numbers[3].

				345678 is thus sett Downe.	
Yean 1	Yee shoppe ...	20		Same Maane	300000
Yee 2	same shoppe...	30			
Saame 3	Saee shoppe ...	40		Saee shoppe ung Cheene	45000
Saee 4	And soe till you come to 100				
ung 5	Yean paac ...	100			
lough 6	lough paac ...	600		Lough paac	600
Chahatt ... 7	Yean Che-ene	1000			
Paate 8	Cau-Che-ene ...	9000		Chaate Shoppe	70
Cau 9	Yea ..... Maane ...	100000			
Shoppe 10				Paate ...	8
Shoppe yean 11					
Shoppe yee 12					
and Soe to 20					345678

[1] Here follows a list of some 200 Chinese characters with their pronunciation, as given by " Antonio the Caffer " and their signification in English. For the opinion of Professor Giles on these characters, see the Preface to this volume.

There is one interesting term in Mundy's list for which he gives the Chinese characters and says, " The Chinois call all Christians falankee especially off Europe. I thinck From Franck or Fr[a]nguee, used [in] all these Easterne parts." This is our old Indian friend *Frangī*, Feringhee (Frank) for all Europeans.

[2] Here also the Chinese characters for the phrases given below appear in the MS.

[3] The Chinese characters for these numbers are also given in the MS. Below is the correct rendering of Mundy's attempt to reproduce the pronunciation of the names of the Cantonese numerals.

1 Yat	7 Ts'at	20 I'-shap	9000 Kau ts' ín
2 I'	8 Pát	30 Sám-shap	100000 Yat mán
3 Sám	9 Kau	40 Sz'-shap	30000 Sám mán
4 Sz'	10 Shap	100 Yat pák	45000 Sz' mán 'ng ts'in
5 'Ng	11 Shap-yat	600 Luk pák	600 Luk pák
6 Luk	12 Shap-í'	1000 Yat ts' ín	70 Ts'at shap
			8 Pát

Soe you perceave by the abovesaid Charactars thatt to expresse 12, you make a ten and 2 underneath itt, and if you putt 2 overhead then itt signiffies 20; and soe For the rest. Moreover, to expresse 345678 is Don as abovesaid, which if itt bee true, as I conceave No lesse, then can wee with our Figures and order sett downe the said summe 3 or 4 tymes before they shall doe it once with theirs. Somwhatt I tried by experience, having had reckonings with China Brokers[1].

Division of their Coines in Decimalles causing a speedy reckoning.

They have one advauntage off us in the sodaine Casting uppe off their Coine or Monies, beecause it goeth all by tens as aforementioned. For in any Number whattsoever, the last on the rightt hand is Casse, the next Cundoreenes, then Massaes, and all the rest Taies; as For example, 345678 Casse is 345 U[2] taies, 6 Massaes, 7 Cundoreenes and 8 Casse. And if they bee soe many Cundoreenes or Massaes, then are the last Figures Massaes and Cundoreenes[3].

An Invention to Cast accompts withall in lieu off Counters.

Allsoe they use a redier way insteed off our Counters with an Invention off beades on wyres on a Frame Made

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[1] Mundy is exaggerating. The Chinese write their decimal notation, which is the same as the European, from top to bottom, instead of from left to right. In speaking, they say, for the figures given, "Three hundred thousand four-ten five thousand six hundred seven-ten eight," whereas in English we say, "three hundred and forty-five thousand six hundred and seventy-eight." The Chinese characters would take longer to write than the European figures.

[2] For a note on this sign, see *ante*, p. 140, Here it indicates that the tael is a piece of 1000 cash.

[3] A neat bit of evidence in favour of a decimal coinage.

after the Manner underneath[1]. The First beads signifie unites, the 2d tens, the 3d hundreds, the 4th thousands, etts. The undermost are each butt one in their owne place. The single bead above is 5 of the same. Those thatt are putt close to the Middle barre are in valuation; as For example the said No. off 345678 is thus expressed on the Frame; and soe when they make use off itt, they remoove the beads to and Fro as wee doe our Counters[2].

In China Few Characters or lettres butt are Monosillables.

By these Few words which I have sett downe May bee gathered the Multitude of their lettres or Sillables. R, L and D sildom used, L somtymes at the begining or middle, rare att the end. And allthough there are said to bee many thousands of these Characters and soe various, yett a Man May much sooner and easier expresse his Minde with our 24 lettres, Only some are to bee pronounced through the Nose, For which wee have No proper letters. I say my opinion, our 24 lettres goe beeffore their thousands off Characters For brevity and true explayning and our Figures in Numbring in a Farre greater Degree[3].

Thus have I in breiffe sett downe somwhatt off this Country off China etts. [and its] Commodities, Characters and Numbers, Refferring the More ample, exact and particular Description off this Most Ancient and

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[1] See Illustration No. 36. The abacus or counting-board used by the Chinese (Cantonese *sün-p'ún*). See *Indian Antiquary*, XXVII. 19 and authorities on the subject given in a footnote. See also Osbeck's description of the "Syan-pann, or the Chinese accompting-board" (I. 265).

[2] Mundy means here that the Illustration (No. 36) gives an abacus set to show an account of 345 taels, 6 mace, 7 candareens and 8 cash.

[3] See Della Valle's comments on Chinese characters, which he gives as 80,000 and says are "only for vain pomp" (ed. Grey, I. 165).

Famous kingdome To the Relation off Divers others who had More tyme, better abillity and oportunity to perfforme the same, as they are collected by Mr Samuell Purchase in his First booke off his Pilgrimage[1] and sundry others.

End of the 26th Relation.

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[1] Mundy means *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. "A Treatise of China and the adjoyning Regions," etc. is given in "The Third Part of The First Booke of Peregrinations and Discoveries," ed. 1625, pp. 166—209, 252—281, 292 ff. The treatise "Of the Kingdom of China" in *Purchas His Pilgrimage* is in Chapter XVIII. of "The fourth Booke," pp. 435—476 of ed. 1626.

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